A CHRONICLE OF
MEDIAEVAL KASHMIR

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

A positive response from the Indian Council of Historical Research encouraged me to take up the translating of *Bahāristān-ī-Shāhī* from Persian into English. Many friends helped me in bringing this work to its successful completion. I am thankful to them. In particular, I am indebted to Prof. T. N. Dhar of the Department of English, University of Kashmir, for the pains he took in examining, revising and improving the English version. But for his untiring labour and patience and the long and late sittings he had with me, the work could not have seen the light of the day. Professor S. L. Pandit, former Head, Department of English, Kashmir University, graciously agreed to read the final draft and offer valuable suggestions.

I am thankful to Prof. N. N. Raina, formerly Head of the Department of Physics, Kashmir University, for his sustained encouragement and guidance during the course of my work and for agreeing to write a preface to it.

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Author

TRANSLATION METHODOLOGY

1. Since the chronicle was one long narrative, it became necessary to divide it into chapters. There are eight of them, each dealing with a particular period or a particular ruling house. Care has been taken to ensure that minimum dislocation of events or their overlapping takes place.

2. As stated elsewhere in the introduction, translation of verses has been left out. Likewise superfluous titles and appendages to names, a practice very common to Persian historiographical style, have also been left out to make the account readable.

3. Effort has been made to reproduce the place names as correctly as possible ; some deficiencies have still remained.

4. Transliteration of Persian/Arabic/Sanskrit words, names, phrases etc. has been done in accordance with the accepted system. (See the key to transliteration). Diacritical marks have been used wherever necessary.

5. Explanatory comments wherever necessary have been put in round paranthesis, but whatever was felt necessary to clear the textual ambiguities has been put in square brackets.

6. Blanks and erasions in the MS have been shown by the sign . . . in the English translation. Illegible words have also been indicated likewise followed by the abbreviation *illeg*.

7. Conversion of Hijra years into Christian years has been done on the basis of the Lunar year system of the Muslim calendar and not the Solar year system of the Iranians.

8. Qur'ānic verses, which figure in the chronicle, have been rendered into English wherever possible.

9. Folio numbers of the MS and their corresponding printed pages have been given on a separate sheet.

ABBREVIATIONS

Rājat.	*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, tr. M. A. Stein, 2 vols. London, 1900.
Jonar.	The *Rājataraṅgiṇī of Jonarāja*, ed. Srikanth Koul, Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1967.
T.Ḥ.K.	*Tārikh-i-Ḥasan Khuihāmi*, Pīr Ghulām Ḥasan, Vol. II, RPD,* Srinagar 1954.
T.M.Ḥ.	*Tārīkh-i-Malik Ḥaidar*, Malik Ḥaidar Chādora, MS. RPD. Acc. No. 39.
T.N.K.	*Tārīkh-i-Nārāyan Koul* 'Ājiz, MS. RPD. Acc. No. 934.
Toḥfat.	*Toḥfatu'l-Aḥbāb*, Anonymous, transcript copy RPD. Acc. No. 1155.
illeg.	Illegible text
MS	Manuscript
St.	Stanza
‿	Ommission in the text
....	Sentence incomplete
(tr)	Translation
trans.	Transcript

* *Note* : RPD stands for Research and Publication Department, J &K State Government, Srinagar.

KEY TO TRANSLITERATION

Arabic/Persian	Latin
ت	t
ث	*th*
چ	ch
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
ذ	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	ʻ
غ	gh
ه	h
ق	q

ERRATA

Page	*Line*	*Read*	*For*
11	10	Persian	Parsian
23	13	*Akbari*	*Akzari*
35	3	sincerety	sincerity
36	33	sixth	sizth
53	29	Sutlej	Sullej
54	20	Ḥaidar	Ḥaiddar
56	4	Sikandar	Sikardar
56	29	T.Ḥ.K. Vol. II	Vol. II
60	26	Zainu'l-'Ābidīn	Zainu'-l Ābidīn
60	30	martyrdom	martydom
64	11	Muḥammad	Muḥammed
65	10	*hajj*	*haji*
65	16	collating	collecting
65	18	elite	elits
65	34	Muḥammad	Muḥemmed
66	22	springs	spring
71	17	*ay begird-e Sham-i parvāneh-ī*	*rūyat 'alamī*
74	27	Prophet	Urophet
82	34	degrees	degress
83	22	Jahāngīr	Jehàngīr
84	25	Ramleneh	Ramlench
89	5	feverish	fevarish
90	11	included	enclnded
91	2	magnificent	manificent
96	9	*Sunni*	Sumnis
96	10	*Sunni*	Sumni
97	29	Persian	Parsian
98	9	Sulṭan	sulṭan
104	1	Ḥusain	Ḥusan
104	1	Tsenteh	Zatni
105	11	*qalam-i*	galam-i
114	29	sincere	since
124	35	anxieties	anxisties

ERRATA (*contd. from previous*)

Page	Line	Read	For
138	11	displeasure	displasure
138	30	good	god
140	10	delete Zil	
145	32	Jammu	Jamu
154	10	buried	guried
154	33	*Rājataraṅgiṇī*	Rajatanginī
156	22	*T.N.K.*	*T.Ḥ.K.*
158	12	encomium	encomlum
163	24	*arba'in*	*arbaīn*
166	27	slaying	slaving
172	5	wound	would
177	7	Abu'l-Ma'ālī	Abu'l-Mu'ālī
180	29	consolidation	consilidation
183	29	In this way once again Sayyid Mubarak Khān proposed	
184	24	Abu'l-Ma'ālī	Abu'l-Mu'ālī
185	2	Abu'l-Ma'ālī	'Abu'l-Mali
188	12	*Wāqa'āt-i-Kashmir*	Wāga'āt-i-Kashmir
189	9	*'Abdu'n-Nabī*	'Adbu'n-Nabi
190	18	initiated	initiat
193	33	musket	muskot
195	26	Aswad	Asward
200	35	Abu'l-Ma'ālī	Abu'l-Mo'ali
204	27	Abu'l-Ma'ālī	Abu'l-Ma'alū
214	28	*Wāqa'āt-i-Kashmir*	Wāg'āt-i-Kashmir
220	8	thought	throught
223	36	Abu'l-Ma'ālī	Abu'l-Mu'alī
224	28	Abu'l-Ma'ālī	Abu'l-Mu'alī
242	13	Khān-i-t͟hānī	Khān-i-t͟hāī
247	15	day was	day
247	15	left	left.
251	23	delete Lohar Chak, Bahadur Khan	
252	13	Special	Spiecial
262	4	squandered	aquandered

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

There is considerable evidence available that indicates the onset of stagnation and consequent degeneration of Kashmir society by the beginning of the tenth century (A.D.). It was becoming more and more difficult to throw up and sustain a strong central authority for the whole of Kashmir Valley. This led to a long period of intensive wars among Damaras and the contemporary central authority.

Professor D. D. Kosambi, using a scientific methodology for his investigations, has been able to provide us profound insights in the appearance of this phenomena. We quote : "The need to import trade goods, particularly salt and metal, difficult transport, lowering of grain prices with great increase in village settlements due to extensive water-works, meant concentration of wealth in a few hands *for each small group of villages* (emphasis added). A Kashmiri village could not be as nearly self-sufficient as one in India for the rigours and more varied climate made it impossible to do without wool, which had to be produced for exchange against cereals as a commodity . . . . In Kashmir the man who had the surplus acquired more wealth by trade, took to arms, and turned into a Damara. . . . . . . The conflict between King and Damara, feudal baron and central power, led ultimately to a Kashmirian Hindu king plundering temple property and melting down the images for profit, without change of religion or theological excuses, simply to maintain the army and a costly state apparatus. Because this could not continue forever, we have the ultimate victory of feudalism, and weakening of the central power . . . . . To pay for its essential import (salt and metal) Kashmir had an ideal commodity in 'saffron' (Crocus Sativas), relatively higher priced, but still in great demand, and easy to transport over a mountain to a large market, and without serious competition . . . . Without the Crocus or some equivalent commodity, the internal history of Kashmir would have been far less turbulent." (*The Sardhasatabdhi Commemoration Volume*, The Asiatic Society of Bombay, 1957, pp. 108-120).

The above analysis refers to a much earlier period than the one dealt with in detail in *Bahāristān-ī-Shāhī*. Nevertheless some useful clues may be found here to the otherwise seemingly senseless quarrels and conflicts of this period, prior to the Mughal takeover in A.D. 1587.

Disintegration of Kashmir society gathered momentum from the 10th century onwards, through endless conflicts between Damaras and contemporary kings. It was during this period that the new liberating ideas of Islam, and some of its adherents slowly began to penetrate the Valley, and later culminated in the deposition of Kota Rani by Shah Mir in A.D. 1339, ushering in a new epoch in Kashmir history.

In the initial period there was hardly any resistance to the conversions, and little social or cultural strife among the people. There was peaceful existence between the traditional believers and the new converts. Lal Ded symbolizes this period.

One of the beneficial consequences of the spread of the new faith was greater movement and activity on the trade routes to the Western and Central Asia. In particular contact with Persian civilization became quite close, and linguistic barriers were crossed on a broad front. Alongside, favourable opportunities were created now for enterprising and ambitious noblemen and other adventurers from this region to thrive in the beautiful Valley by building a strong social base for their power and wealth.

All these vital processes have now to be sorted out and critically examined by our new generation of the intelligentsia in the spirit of modern historiography. Meanwhile all the available documents that have escaped destruction, archaeological remains, linguistic and literary evidence, social customs, need to be critically examined by our new generation of historians. This may be regarded as an essential aspect of the great task of building a New Kashmir of our dreams.

There is no doubt that *Bahāristān-ī-Shāhī* is a valuable historic document which deserves to be widely known, and

studied for the first-hand evidence provided by some influential courtier of Yusuf Shah Chak, overthrown and imprisoned by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in A.D. 1587. The anonymous writer appears to have worked on his theme largely during the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

The late Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah frequently asserted that he was the first Kashmiri after Yusuf Shah Chak to go about with his head erect. That underlines the importance of this monarch and his times in the consciousness of many people in the Valley, who still bewail in folk songs his fate after his capture by the Mughals.

Dr. Kashinath Pandit has done his labour of love by working on the original Persian manuscripts, and has produced a faithful English version of the same, so as to make the contents available to a wider audience. He is singularly qualified for this major task. Coming from a Baramulla family with a long tradition of Persian scholarship spread over several generations he got a Master's degree in Persian from the Panjab University, with distinction. At the age of thirty-two he joined the University of Teheran (Iran) for a doctorate in Iranian, and spent three years there. He has produced a biography of Hafiz of Shiraz.

Dr. Pandit has travelled widely in Central Asia, and is well known to the scholars in the Tajik Academy particularly. The diversity and depth of his knowledge of the region is of timely importance to us in the Valley in the context of recent developments. There is no doubt about his present work being an important contribution towards the understanding of our past.

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INTRODUCTION

Kashmir may rightfully boast of a long tradition of producing histories and historical works of considerable value. No fewer than a dozen histories are referred to by Kalhaṇa which, besides other materials, served him as sources for his celebrated chronicle *Rājataraṅgiṇī* written in Lāukika 4225 corresponding to A.D. 1149/50. Kalhaṇa's impact on the historians and chroniclers who followed him is evident in at least the works of four of them who endeavoured to carry on the tradition of recording the events of the rulers of their time : Jonarāja, Srivara, Prājyabhaṭṭa and Suka. While the work of Prājyabhaṭṭa is lost to us, the history of Suka takes us to the time of the second tenure of Sulṭān Fatḥ Shāh in A.D. 1538. The historical accounts of these four Sanskrit historians are relatively brief ; they make only veiled references to events which deserved to be treated in greater detail. But they wrote under several constraints, and that perhaps explains why their perception and presentation of events did not match that of Kalhaṇa's. It is also likely that what has survived the ravages of time is only a fragment of what they had written. Nevertheless, these accounts are valuable to us; at least we have something to fall back upon.

The tradition solidly established by Kalhaṇa, which was marked by objectivity in approach and treatment, was followed by many later historians of Kashmir. From the time of the advent of Islam in Kashmir (placed by some historians somewhere in the last decade of the thirteenth century, though the presence of the people of Islamic faith in Kashmir had been reported by Kalhaṇa in as early as the eighth century)[1] to the reign of Mahārāja Pratāp Singh the third Dogra ruler (d. A.D. 1925), many histories of Kashmir were produced in Persian. After the expansion of Islam in Iran and Central Asia, the art of recording the events and affairs of rulers and their subjects developed in a manner in conformity with the Islamic traditions. When the conversion pro-

1. *Rājataranginī*, Bk. iv. St. 397.

cess in Kashmir reached its culmination in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the social and political turbulance died down, the resultant peaceful order stimulated hitherto suspended intellectual and artistic activity. For more than a century after the founding of Muslim rule in Kashmir, Sanskrit continued to be used officially alongside Persian, though it was evident that soon the latter would replace the former both as official language and the language of the elite. No wonder, therefore, that a patron of learning like Sulṭān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn worked for preserving the rich cultural heritage of Kashmir by starting a bureau of translation for translating Sanskrit works into Persian. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* was translated during this very time. Unfortunately, much of the material produced during this time has been lost. Persian historiography had a rich tradition behind it. When Persian language took roots in Kashmir, the science of writing histories also absorbed the tradition which had already been established.

One cannot compute exactly the number of histories of Kashmir which have been written in Persian from early times to the present day. However, a record of extant Persian histories preserved in the Research and Publication Department of Jammu & Kashmir State, Srinagar, lists as many as seventeen works in manuscript form. The earliest among these is *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir* written by Sayyid 'Alī b. Sayyid Muḥammad in A.D. 1579, and the most recent is *Tārikh-i-Kabīr* written by Ghulām Moḥiu'd-Dīn in A.D. 1900. Apart from these, there are several other works in the form of diaries, travelogues, and stray writings of considerable historical importance which have not been included in the list of histories.

Of the seventeen histories of Kashmir, already known to scholars, only two have been printed so far : *Wāqa'āt-i-Kashmir* by Muḥammad Azam Dedamari and the two volumes of *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir* by Pīr Ghulām Ḥasan Khuihāmī. The unedited text of *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* was also published a few years ago by a local scholar as a supplement to a long eulogy of the author's now deceased patron and benefactor. *Gulāb Nāma* by Dīwān Kripā Rām has also been translated from Persian into English, but it is more of a biography of the

founder of the Dogra dynasty of the rulers of Jammu & Kashmir, than a work of history.

In the absence of competent and annotated English translations of these Persian histories of Kashmir, the non-Persian knowing scholars are severally handicapped. But the task of editing, translating and publishing these manuscripts is not an easy one ; it calls for a high standard of scholarship, dedication and institutional and organizational support. That these valuable histories are languishing in dust is a sad commentary on the state of scholarly research in these areas. Unless government bodies and universities take initiative in providing the right kind of incentives to competent scholars, these manuscripts cannot reach scholars in the field. It needs to be mentioned here that high level scholarship in classical languages is becoming rare in our country.

By and large, the historians of Kashmir writing in Persian language followed the pattern—format, style, theme etc.—of Iranian historians though the canvas of the former is limited. When they accepted the Persian/Tajik model of historiography, they accepted both its good and bad qualities. It appears that many Persian historians of Kashmir had perused the historical works of outstanding Iranian or Central Asian historians and they had familiarised themselves with their technical language, style and method to a considerable extent. They had also acquainted themselves with the variety of themes which the Iranian, Central Asian or Indian historians treated in the course of their recordings.

Histories of Kashmir in Persian language which I had the opportunity of examining during the course of my research, invariably follow the traditional pattern of Persian histories which had been produced in Iran, Transoxiana (*Mā'warā-an-Nahr*), Afghanistan and India. They begin with an elaborate doxology, followed by praises and eulogies for the Holy Prophet, the Imans, and the ruling house or the king or the patron at whose instance the work was undertaken or to whom it was dedicated. However, the Persian histories produced in Kashmir deviate in some respects from the traditional norm. In the East, particularly in Iran, a his-

torian wrote at the behest of a ruler, a minister or a powerful courtier or a feudal lord. In a few cases the historian would himself be a minister or an influential person close to the ruling circles and the corridors of power, and wrote mainly to please his patron than out of his intellectual curiosity. Martin's perceptive comment on Timurid art explains it clearly : "All art, in the Orient is court art, or is dependent on Maecenas. It was so, in the 'Abbasid Court at Baghdad in the ninth century, it was so in Egypt and Spain ; it was so everywhere. This fact must be remembered, as it explains much that would otherwise be incomprehensible".[1]

Most of the historians of Kashmir who wrote in Persian had very thin or no connection with the court or the ruling house, and never held any important official positions. This accounts for the presence of very few distortions or misrepresentations in their expositions, and gives their work a degree of objective credibility not known before. Whatever bias these may have is because of the angularities of their character or because of circumstances beyond their control. This bias is, therefore, neither pronounced nor offensive. But because they were not associated with the court or royalty, put them to a disadvantage: they had no access to original and living sources of information.

Generally mediaeval Persian historiography in or outside Iran suffered from one particular drawback. To show off his command over the language, a historian would invariably cultivate a highly ornate and turgid style. He would devote more attention to rhetorical embellishment than to objective analysis of facts and events or to drawing of logical conclusions. This probobly explains why many historical works were used as textbooks of highly ornate Persian prose rather than as histories. History was not included in the curriculum of *madrasah* (colleges) in Iran and elsewhere as an independent subject of study. The historians did not realize they needed a different kind of style for producing histories. This lessened the

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1. *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, Quartich, 1912, vol, i, pp. 35-6.

value of many of these works. The historians' tendency to use an ornate style was probably because they wrote only for a small circle of upper class intellectuals, and not for the public at large. Once arts and sciences came out of the close confines of courts and elitist circles and spread to wider sections of society, historians gradually gave up the old ornate style and wrote with a greater degree of objectivity and factual precision.

Keeping this in view, it is gratifying to note that histories produced in Persian language in Kashmir are very readable narratives composed usually in a simple and clear style. This is mostly because they were generally unconnected with courts, rulers and high-ranking personalities. Another reason was that Persian was not their mother tongue. It had been brought here from Iran and Transoxiana by Muslim missionaries for propagating the Islamic faith. When the ruling power passed on to the Muslims, Persian became the court and official language in due course of time. Anybody using it had to be clear and precise. The historians too followed the same example. Not having to do anything with the king or his court, the histories produced by Kashmiris were put in the category of non-official and popular histories. The historians did not need to vie with one another to strive for linguistic embellishments. This makes it easier to render them into readable English than the histories produced in Iran or Transoxiana in mediaeval times.

Having noted the general features of Persian histories produced in Kashmir in mediaeval and early modern times, it has to be admitted that these histories do have some limitations which they share with the histories produced in Iran and elsewhere in the Persian/Tajik speaking regions. First, there is a pronounced streak of exaggeration in them; no matter whether they are praising or censuring. Second, they lack systematic distribution of themes into separate parts or through what we now call chapterization. Besides, there are sudden shifts from one theme to another; the reader is not sufficiently prepared for a new course of events. Hence any attempt on the part of an editor or a translator at distributing the narrative into chapters and assigning them headings

has to be an arbitrary one. Finally, besides frequent repetitions, their narrative continuity is often disrupted by uncalled-for interpolations.

In the choice of their subject-matter, Persian histories of Kashmir suffer from several other deficiencies. They deal with subjects like court intrigues, political and personal rivalries among nobles and chieftains, tales of extraordinary heroism, hunting expeditions and pleasure trips, harem squabbles and such other trivial matters. The treatment is generally exaggerated. Vital matters of social importance are ignored or underestimated. Common people hardly figure in their account of the affairs of the state. Even after going through long chunks of such histories one cannot frame even a hazy idea of the kind of society that existed at a given point of time. As against this, court intrigues, in-fightings, petty skirmishes, and supernatural powers of the saints receive more than due attention. When not engaged with these things, the historian writes copiously about mystics, spiritualists, mendicants, especially about their seemingly miraculous powers. He has very little or almost nothing to say about the vast agrarian and artisan sections of society ; their economic and social activities ; their relations with the ruling class ; taxes, revenue and fiscal matters ; arts and crafts ; status of women, folk-lore and local traditions ; interaction between various sections and classes of society engaged in productive activity, military and administrative set-up and a multitude of other related themes. He does not identify himself with the social milieu of his times.

But notwithstanding all that is said, it will be unjustified to censure these historians for the deficiencies enumerated above, because socially-oriented history is a recent development, at least in our part of the continent. Though this approach to history gained popularity in the West from the time of the Renaissance, the East lingered on for many more centuries with her ages-old tradition till the era when imperialism and its agencies received a setback in Asia and elsewhere outside Europe. In such a situation, the burden of scanning impartially the material available to them, investi-

gating it and drawing conclusions in a manner that society and its variegated aspects are brought under focus has to fall on the present-day historians. And the task calls for extraordinary care and responsibility.

The most crucial period of the mediaeval history of Kashmir is from the time of the downfall of the Hindu rule upto the beginning of Shāhmīrī rule. Surprisingly, Persian historians have virtually neglected this period of far-reaching consequences. It has led to the exacerbation of controversies based on wild speculations. They have become so firmly entrenched that it seems difficult to rectify them. The process of early Islamization of Kashmir is a complex one because, unlike Iran or Transoxiana, there was no outright invasion of Kashmir by Islamic warriors ; no Arab legions marched into Kashmir with their swift horses and slender swords. It was a curious process interspersed with many ugly happenings which are mentioned in the pages of this work. But the initial non-violent character of the event makes it into quite a fascinating development. The story of conversion of hundreds of thousands of people to Islam over a long stretch of time has not been told in a manner in which it should have been. No historian, for example, has tried to go deep into the socio-economic and socio-political causes of the phenomenon. This lacuna in the mediaeval histories of Kashmir is difficult to explain.

Bahāristān-i-Shāhī

Historians have mentioned some historical works which were produced in Kashmir before *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* was written, but these are lost. Three histories are invariably mentioned in this connection : those of Mullā Nāderi, Qāzi Ibrāhim and Mullā Ḥasan Qāri. In their absence, *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* enjoys the status of being the first fully detailed history of Kashmir written anonymously in A.D. 1614. (The forty-eight folio MS history written by Sayyid 'Alī is mainly an account of the saints, particularly of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadāni).

Of the two extant manuscript copies of *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī*, one is in the British Museum (Add. 16, 706) and the other is in the India Office (I.O. 509). An abridged MS copy is in Bankipore Library.

When compared with the India Office copy, the one preserved in the British Museum has some ommissions, erasions and over-writings. Many place-names are illegible or carelessly written. In a few instances, the corresponding dates in Laukika calendar are missing. On these counts, the India Office copy has been considered more dependable, though, in both the cases, the date of transcription or the name of the copyist has not been recorded. Not ignoring the importance of the manuscript copy in the British Museum, a genuine text was established after careful collation of the two MSS, and the translation is of the collated version. In doing so many ambiguities have been removed and ommissions reconstructed. However, a few though minor discrepancies could not be resolved and these have been indicated in the English version.

The India Office manuscript copy carries the date of compilation of the chronicle in its colophon in the shape of a chronogram, viz. *Nāmeh-e-Shāhān-i-Kashmir* : it is A.H. 1023 corresponding to A.D. 1614. The chronogram is actually the concluding verse of a short *math̲navi* (a long poem) appended to the text. This is somewhat curious because such appendages are generally found in collections (*jung*) and not in exclusive works of history. Moreover, the *math̲navi* in question is of a different theme—being didactic in nature—bearing no relation whatsoever to the theme of the chronicle. The MS does not bear either the date of its transcription or the name of its author scribe and the place of writing. It cannot be decisively established as to when the author began writing the name of its author and the place of writing. It cannot be decisively established as to when the author began writing the chronicle ; one or two clues however do suggest that the entire work was completed in not less than two decades. It seems that there are big time-gaps in the course of writing the chronicle, for the author refers to Kashmir sometimes as 'this country' and at other times as 'that country'. This also proves that while writing it the author was sometimes in Kashmir and sometimes outside Kashmir.

The clues suggesting more than two decades as the period over which the chronicle was written are : On folio 12^b of

the MS, the author writes that 270 years have elapsed since the ravages of Zulchu took place. The incursion of Zulchu, as per the author's statement (fol. 11^{a}/p. 17) took place in A.H. 727/A.D. 1323. As such he had been writing about this particular event in A.H. 997 corresponding to A.D. 1593. This was the time when Kashmir had passed under the control of the Mughals for over six years. The chronicle was brought to its completion twenty-one years later. In other words, we can say that it took the author no fewer than twenty-one years to complete it, presuming that he had begun it in A.H. 997/A.D. 1593. The presumption is based on the fact that Zulchu's incursion into Kashmir being an event of early history of Kashmir, the chronicler had to write twelve folios to arrive at the description of this event.

The MS fills 212 folios of $8^{5}/8'' \times 5''$ size written in fairly legible *nasta'līq* hand. A few ommissions, errors and erasions which have crept into the text, advertantly or inadvertantly, have been set right as far as possible after collating with the Br. Museum copy. Whatever discrepancies are left do not seriously obstruct the continuity of the text or impair its readability. Some orthographic peculiarities of the MS are :

(a) letter س is invariably accompanied by three dots at its bottom.

(b) letter گ invariably carries only one horizontal stroke instead of two.

(c) letter ے (*yā-e-majhūl*) has not been used which contrasts with the Practice followed in many Persian histories produced in India.

(d) letter ی is invariably accompanied by two dots at its bottom.

(e) *hàmza* (ۓ) is generally represented by two dots at the bottom of *ya*.

f) when a word ending with letter *alif* is required to be compounded with the following word, its sign of *hamza* is replaced by *ya*.

Such orthographic peculiarities are generally found in Persian-Tajik manuscripts of Transoxiana produced during the mediaeval period. For example, a manuscript history entitled *Mehmān Nāmeh-e-Bukhārā*, of Faḍlu'llah Rozbehān Khunji completed in A.D. 1509 in Herat bears a marked resemblance to the work in question in its orthographic peculiarities. It suggests that the style of writing, calligraphy and also the general pattern of Persian works of history in those days were largely influenced by the Turanian style, rather than the Indian.

In one particular formal aspect, the India Office MS is different from general Persian historical writings. A common pattern of Persian-Tajik and Arabic works is that the author begins with the opening sentence of the Islamic prayer, viz, *bismillah ar-rahmān ar-rahīm*, followed by one or two paragraphs in doxology, praises to the Holy Prophet, the Imams, and lastly to the ruler or the patron as the case may be. But in the case of *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, except for the opening sentence of the Islamic prayer, all other doxological features are conspicuously absent. The book begins directly with the mythical story of the beginning of Kashmir. If we presume that its author was of the Shia' faith and that he wrote at a time when factional feuds were recurrent, we can understand his doing away with the recognised practice of writing prefatory material to works of history.

The MS is frequently interspersed with verses which occasionally fill a folio or two. Their theme is generally related to the context. However, it is difficult to ascertain whether these verses have been borrowed from some versified history of Kashmir or not, although there are a few positive clues to suggest such a possibility. If the author really made use of one, it could either be the now lost work of Mulla Nāderī, which is mentioned in several Persian histories of Kashmir,

or that of Sayyid Qāsim, which is mentioned cursorily on folio 42[b]/p.60 of the text, presuming that the reference is not to Abu'l-Qāsim b. Hindushah Firishta. The rhyme and meter of these verses correspond to the one we find in the *Shahnāma* of Ferdowsi. It is important to bear in mind that the *Shahnāma* had set the trend for future poet-historians in the choice of meter for recording popular events and legends of heroism and valour. *Shahnāma*, the great epic, had been popular with the men of letters in Kashmir as early as the fifteenth century. Jonarāja tells us that "Bhaṭṭāvtara, who had perused *Shahnāma* composed a work named *Jainavilass* as the counterpart of the king's (Zainu'l-'Ābidīn) instructions".[1]

While rendering *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* into English, the Persian verses which frequently figure in the text have been left out. This is not because the verses do not deserve to be translated, but because it would have proved a source of distraction to the reader.

Sources

There is no specific mention in the text of the chronicle about the sources from which the author drew material for his work. Nevertheless, keeping in view the importance of the subject, an attempt will be made to trace sources that have a direct or indirect bearing on the text.

For the Hindu period of his chronicle, the author probably drew on some Sanskrit work or works, for he has referred to some such source by a phrase *ba qalam-i-Kashmiri*, although the word Sanskrit has not been used anywhere in the text. Repeated allusions to such histories suggest that Persian translations of some known Sanskrit histories were within the reach of the author. These could have been the chronicles written by Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja, Srivara or Suka. We know for certain that by that time Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the chronicle of Jonarāja had been rendered into Persian either in full or in part. Jonarāja tells us that Sulṭān

1. *The Rājataranginī of Jonarāja*, (tr.) Dutt. J.C., Delhi, 1986, p. 13.

Zainu'l-'Ābidīn was instrumental in getting *Rājataraṅgiṇī* translated into Persian.[1] We also know that 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāunī had, under Akbar's instructions, prepared an abridged version of the history of Kashmir ; this is stated by him in the *muqaddima* to his work *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh.*[2]

The four Sanskrit historians who followed Kalhaṇa were a witness to events for the periods detailed below :

Jonarāja	A.D. 1398—1459	61 years
Srivara	1459—1486	27 years
Prājyabhaṭṭa	1486—1513	27 years
Suka	1613—1638	25 years

Since *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* was written in A.D. 1614, Suka's history falls outside its time-span. Srivara's account is much more detailed than those of others. This is clear from the following table :

Kalhana	3698 years in 7830 slokas (verses)
Jonarāja	300 years in 976 slokas
Srivara	27 years in 2241 slokas
Suka	25 years in 398 slokas

The last time when the author of the work refers to a Sanskrit history (*ba qalam-i-Kashmiri*) is in connection with the dafeat of Kāji Chak at the hands of Mirza Haidar Dughlat ; the year recorded is 16 which corresponds to A.H. 947/ A.D. 1540.

Apart from the translations of the chronicles of Jonarāja, Srivara and others, and presuming that these works had been translated into Persian, some more histories in Persian verse or prose had been produced by the time the author of

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1. *The Rājataranginī of Jonarāja*, (tr.) Dutt. J.C., Delhi, 1986, p. 146. Also see *Zaina Rājataranginī of Srivara*, ed. Rughnath Singh, Varanasi, 1977, Pt. I, Stt. 1:5:85.

2. (Tr.) Sir Wolseley Haig, Patna, 1973, vol. iii, p. 536. See text vol. ii. p. 374.

Bahāristān-i-Shāhī appeared on the scene. These could also have carried the accounts of Hindu rulers of Kashmir used by the author. But the loss of Persian translation of Sanskrit histories of Kashmir from Kalhaṇa to Suka (presuming the translations had been made) has made any verdict on the sources of the history of Hindu period in *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* a matter of conjecture. For writing his account, the author seems to have used some distorted and frightfully defective Persian rendering of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. His casual attitude towards this period is indicated by the fact that only eleven out of a total of 212 folios of the MS are devoted to it. It seems that the author wrote about it as a routine formality.

As far as the account of the Sulṭāns of Kashmir is concerned, the following Persian histories produced until the writing of *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* in A.D. 1614, come to our notice :

1. *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir,* Sayyid 'Alī, A.D. 1579.
2. *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir,* Mulla Ḥusain Nāderi, A.D. 1580.
3. *Taḏkiratu'l-Ārifin,* Mulla 'Ali Raina, A.D. 1587.
4. *Tārikh-i-Kashmir,* being the translation of Jonarāja's history. A.D. 1590, Munich MS. Its author is unknown and the work covers 131 years of history given by Jonarāja.
5. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari,* Niẓāmu'd-Din Tarawi, A.D. 1592.
6. *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī,* Mīrza Ḥaidar Dughlat.
7. *Bābur Nama,* Zahiru'd-Din Bābur.
8. *Tarikh-i-Firishta.*

No doubt these historical works were produced either before *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* was written or were produced simultaneously, but it is difficult to say which of these histories the author used as his sources ; he does not make any specific reference to any work or works.

From the concluding portions of the chronicle, one gathers the impression that the author had been an eye-witness to some happenings of those times. It could also be said that

he had access to important personalities. That is why he gives some minute details of events in this part of the work. However, in the absence of an authentic biography of the author, who is not even identified, it would not be safe to link him with either the court of the Chaks or the powerful house of the Sayyids of Baihaq, whom he praises in extravagent terms for their bravery and statecraft. That the author preferred to remain anonymous is also significant. Some scholars have tried to lift the veil of anonymity from his name, but such efforts could be only conjectural and had better be ignored.

We may now try to analyse the clues available in the chronicle to the possible sources used by the author. This will help in evaluating the authenticity of the work in its totality, and also serve as an incentive to further research in the field.

1. Commenting on the ravages of Zulchu (*c.* A.D. 1323), the author writes (fol. 11ᵃ/p. 17) that the chroniclers of the events of Kashmir have not recorded an event more disastrous and catastrophic than that of Zulchu's incursion into Kashmir. This is a very faithful reproduction of Jonarāja's comment on the event.[1] This confirms that the Persian version of Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* was used by the author.

2. Describing the military exploits of Sulṭān Shihābu'd-Dīn, (fol. 21ᵃ/p. 32), the author writes that details pertaining to the Sulṭān's military adventures have been elaborately recorded in the history of . . . . . (blank) written in Kashmiri. The author also writes that if the stories and anecdotes of Sulṭān Shihābu'd-Dīn's remarkable bravery are fully described (as had been available to him), people would think them a result of his poetical exaggeration and as such would be taken as false . . . . This is exactly what Jonarāja has said about the Sulṭān.[1] Furthermore, the expression "chronicles of mighty

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1. *Jonarāja*, ed. Srikanth Koul, Hoshiarpur, 1967, p. 165.
1. See *The Rājataraṅginī of Jonarāja*, (tr.) Dutt, J. C. New Delhi, 1986, p. 40.

monarchs and events of kings of Kashmir" with which the text of *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* begins is perhaps the expanded Persian rendering of the Sanskrit term '*Rājataraṅgiṇī*.' Not mentioning the name of the author or the title of the 'Kashmiri history' (*ba qalam-i-Kashmiri*) in the text (fol. 20a/p. 31) appears to be a deliberate act, and not an inadvertant ommission. Perhaps the author did not want to acknowledge the debt he owed to Jonorāja.

3. On fol. 29a/p.40, the author refers to a panegyric composed by Sayyid Maḥmūd Baihaqi in praise of Sulṭān Ghiathu'd-Dīn of Dehli and says that "for fear of its length, historians have recorded only the following verses". Then follow the verses. This indicates that the author knew some Persian historical works of India which dealt with the period he was writing about.

4. On fol. 42b/p.60, the author quotes one Sayyid Qāsim describing the numerical strength of Mīr Sayyid Nāṣir Baihaqi's troops in readiness against the troops of the Rājā of Jasrot (or Rājā Jasrath). The event pertains to the days of Sulṭan Zainu'l-'Ābidīn's accession to the throne in A.D. 1422. Who this Sayyid Qāsim was and what exactly he wrote is not known. One possible guess could be that he is Qāsim b. Hindushāh, commonly known as Firishta.

5. On fol. 62b/p.78, the author describes the conspiracy hatched by Kashmiri dissidents to assassinate Sayyid Ḥasan Baihaqi and writes, "It has been written in Kashmiri ...." This indicates that a history of Kashmir of that period written in Sanskrit did exist and was made use of by the author either in its Persian translation or through the assistance of an interpreter. If we accept that the Persian version of a Sanskrit history did exist at this point of time, then it has to be that by Śrivara. His chronicle mentions clearly the dream of Mīr Sayyid Ḥasan regarding his impending killing next morning. The dream is described in its entirety by our chronicler on folio 62b/p.78.

6. On fol. 75b/p.90, there is a description of the fierce fighting which broke out between the troops of Fatḥ Shāh and

Muḥammad Shāh and the mishap of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad's horse falling into a ditch on the battlefield. The chronicler says that the event is well known in Kashmiri history. This too confirms that Śrivara's history served as a source for this portion of the chronicle.

7. On fol. 145ª/p.193, while describing a confrontation between Yusuf Shāh Chak and Sayyid Mubārak Khān, the author notes, "... historians have given an account of this battle in prose as well as in verse". This suggests the existence of some history or histories in Persian/Sanskrit written both in verse and in prose. The statement is followed by verses filling one whole folio of the MS. It is likely that these verses have been borrowed directly from some versified history in Persian/Sanskrit.

8. The first mention of the Islamic calendar in the chronicle has been made to record the year of Laxman Dev's death, viz. A.H. 531/A.D. 1136 (fol. 8ᵇ/p.8). Thereafter, the Muslim calendar has been used along with the Laukika calendar of the Kashmiris which has been introduced for the first time to denote the year A.H. 878/A.D. 1473 (Laukika 46 Vivat 12). This too suggests the existence of Sanskrit/Persian histories of Kashmir during the period under our consideration.

9. On fol. 10ᵇ/p.16, the author writes that he confirmed the name (of Zulchu) as Zulāji from Mīrzā Ḥaidar. This indicates that Mirza Haidar Dughlat's history *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi* also served him as a source for his chronicle.

Evaluation

Bahāristān-i-Shāhī is essentially an account of the political events of Kashmir in mediaeval times, especially from the time of the incursion of Zulchu into Kashmir in A.H. 727/A.D. 1323 to A.H. 1023/A.D. 1614, the year when Sayyid Abu'l-Ma'ālī, the second son of Sayyid Mubārak, and the last of Yūsuf Shāh Chak's closest associates, proceeded to Thatta in Sindh to assume charge of his *jāgīr*, conferred upon him by Jahangir Padishah. The Hindu period with which the chronicle begins is casually treated in the first eleven folios. While dealing with the later period, the nar-

pened to be a day of sporadic fighting and skirmishes, he did not get time to carry out the task of burying the dead. Early next morning, Sayyid Mubārak Khān got the dead body of his son, who had been slain on the previous day, buried with full rites in the burial ground of his ancestors. Then he rejoined Yūsuf Shāh for deliberations over state affairs. Yūsuf Shāh, too, carried the dead body of his father, the late 'Alī Shāh, to his ancestoral burial ground.

NOTES

1. Ḥasan doeṣ not confirm that he did not become blind. See *TḤK*. p. 274.

2. According to Ḥasan he was a Sayyid from Kāshghar and an adopted son of Humāyūn. See *TḤK*. p. 274.

3. Ḥasan's version is that it was through cunning that he succeeded in bringing him to the town of Pattan along with his troops. See *TḤK*. p. 275.

4. Ghāzī Khān's daughter was given in marriage to Ibrāhīm's nephew. *Ibid*.

5. About three kilometers from Pattan on road to Srinagar.

6. Malik Ḥaidar computes the number of the slain at four thousand. *TMḤ*. MS. f. 57b.

7. Ḥasan says that Shams Raina was captured because he had helped the Mughals in leaving Kashmir. See *TḤK* p. 276.

8. Qarā Bahādur had five to six thousand troops with him and about two to three thousand Kashmiri soldiers also joined him. *TMḤ*. MS. f. 59b.

9. In the outskirts of Lahore. *TḤK*. p. 278.

10. Ghāzī Khān stationed his troops at Lohar Kot. *TMḤ*. MS. f. 59b.

11. Ghāzī Khān had promised to pay the Doombs one gold coin as a prize for each severed Mughal head. The Doombs performed the duties of sentries or border scouts. In fact it was they who put the Mughals to rout and Kashmiri regular troops were not deployed. See *TMḤ*. MS. f. 60[a]. They brought seven thousand severed heads of Mughal soldiers to Ghāzī Khān. See *TNK*. MS. f. 64.

12. The story of Ḥabīb Khān's deposition is described by Malik Ḥaidar like this. Once he behaved in his court in such a manner that the nobles present at that occasion were put to great embarrassment. 'Ali Khān, the younger brother of Ghāzī Khān, took it as an offence and declared that Ḥabīb Khān was misfit as a Sulṭān. He lifted the crown from his head and put it on the head of Ghāzī Khān and made him sit on the throne. See *TMḤ*. MS. f. 58[b].

13. Malik Ḥaidar makes no mention of Ghāzī Khān's attempting to change his previous decision.

14. Nowsherwān-i-'Ādil. the famous Sāsānian king of Iran, who reigned in the 6/7 century. But Ḥasan writes that in his zeal for propagating Shia'faith and custom, he oppressed the Sunnis and the Hindus. Although he showed regard to the *'ulemā* of Ḥanafi school in their service to religion, it is also a fact that he engineered the killing of a number of men of Sunni faith. See *TḤK*. p. 283.

15. Malik Ḥaidar says that he was a grocer but received favours from Ḥusain Khān and was given the title Khān Zamān by him. He aligned some of the commanders with himself and tried to stage a revolt. See *TMḤ*. MS. f. 61[b]. It appears that soon after Ḥusain Shāh's accession to the throne, there started a rivalry for power between his Chief Vizir Malik Muḥammad Naji and Fatḥ Khwāja (Khān Zamān). This Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān were the associates of the 'lord of the border' (*marzbān*). See *TḤK*. p. 281. *Marzbān* (*Marz* = border + *bān* = keeper, appears to be the Persian equivalent of Sanskrit *dvārnāyaka* or *dvārpati* (Lord of the Gate). Regarding his title and functions, see *Rājat*. v, 214 *et seq*.

16. Shams Dubi in *TḤK*. p. 281.

17. The author does not mention the name of Muḥammad Nājī as an opponent of Khān Zamān.

18. At a place called Wothnār. See *TḤK*. p. 281.

19. *Dāru'l-Amāreh*.

20. The inference is that Mabārez Khān did not subscribe to Shia'faith.

21. He professed Sunni faith. See *TḤK*. p. 282.

22. The two words in the text are *muḥibbān* and *mawāliyān*. Perhaps the allusion is to the followers of the Imāms and of 'Ali.

23. Yusuf Muno in *Wāqa'āt-i-Kashmir*. p. 91. Ḥasan writes that this Yūsuf Inder was in the entourage of Mīrzā Muqīm, the Shia'. See *TḤK*. p. 283.

24. They were Shias. See *TḤK*. p. 284.

25. Ḥasan contradicts this and writes that the orders of the Sulṭān were obtained when he was holding the public court (*Dīwān-i-'Āmm*). See *TḤK*. p. 284.

26. Ḥasan says that he was killed by a mob. *Ibid*.

27. It apparently seems to be a Sunni-Shia'riot.

28. Probably small-pox. See *TḤK*. p. 284.

29. The descendants of Yūsuf stated that as he was practising swordsmanship outside the mosque, he inadvertantly struck a blow which wounded the Qāḍī in his hand. Ḥasan further writes that on the particular day on which the two *muftīs* were ordered to be beheaded, most of the people of the city [*sic*] had gone on an excursion to the Dal lake. The city had almost become empty and Ḥusain Shāh seized the opportunity of getting them executed. *TḤK*. p. 286. The executioner was Fatḥ Khān Chak. See Ferishta, *History*. p. 364.

30. Ḥasan writes that after the martyrdom of those two

elderly persons, Muqīm Khān hastened his departure from Kashmir. By agreeing to comply with royal orders, Ḥusain Chak 'threw round his neck the collar of servility,' and along with many excellent presents, sent his daughter through Muqīm Khān for Akbar to marry. *TḤK*, p. 286.

31. From this and the preceding sentence it appears that Khwāja Ḥājjī's mission was to mould the opinion of some prominent men of religion, such as Mullā 'Abdullah and Shaykh 'Adbu'n-Nabī and others so that the matter could be brought to the notice of Akbar.

32. It may be inferred from these sentences that after the execution of Mīr Muqīm and Ya'qub Mīr, Shia'-Sunni riots erupted there.

33. Malik Ḥaidar makes no mention of Yūsuf Mīr Inder's episode and its aftermath and Ḥasan makes no mention of Akbar's reprisals on *mullās*.

34. Both Malik Ḥaidar and Ḥasan write that he spent his remaining days of life at Zenapore. *TMḤ*. MS. f. 62a and *TḤK*. p. 288.

35. Ḥusain Quli Khān Turkmān was the governor of Panjab. See *TḤK*. p. 291n.

36. For *dīnār* see *Rājat*. Vol. II, p. 308 *et seq.*

37. He ascended the throne in A.H. 978/A.D. 1570.

38. Ḥasan records that he used to present himself before Shaykh Makhdūm Ḥamza (Sulṭānu'l-Arifīn, d. A.D. 1566) and the saint Hardi Bābā Rishī. Three couplets from an encomium called *qaside lāmiyyeh* composed by the famous poet and saint Baba Dā'ūd-Khākī in praise of 'Alī Shāh have been included by Ḥasan in his history. See *TḤK*. pp. 288-89.

39. The dead body of Sulṭān 'Alī Shāh was temporarily buried in the compound of Jāmi'-Masjid. See *TḤK*. p. 294.

40. Sayyid Mubārak Khān had tried to resolve the deadlock through the mediation of Muḥammad Chak, Bābā Khalīl and some more nobles, but the effort yieded no result. See *TḤK*. p. 294.

41. Malik Ḥaidar gives a different version of the struggle for power between Yūsuf Khān and Abdāl Khān. When the news of Yūsuf Khān's taking over the reins of the government reached his uncle Abdāl Khān, everybody suggested to him that he (Abdāl) should put up resistance. But he did not agree to do so and said that Yūsuf Khān was like his child, and in his old age he did not have the physical strength to bear the strain of fighting. He said that he was prepared to accept him as the new ruler. He then sent a few persons to Yūsuf Khān directing them to join the funeral procession of the late Sulṭān. He even prepared himself to join it. But his eldest son Ḥabīb Khān dissuaded him from doing so. It was then resolved that they should draft an agreement and then proceed to the house of Yūsuf Khān. When the news of the contemplated agreement reached Yūsuf Khān, he did make promises and commitments to them. But malicious people played mischief and Yūsuf Khān deferred giving funeral to his dead father. On the same day, he initiat fighting with Abdāl Khān. In the battle which was fought in the locality of Nowhatta, Abdāl Khān was slain by Sayyid Mubārak. *TMḤ*. MS. ff. 64b-65a. For more details see Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, p. 629 and Tārīkh-i-Firishta, Vol. II, p. 365.

42. A.H. 987/A.D. 1579.

CHAPTER VII

YUSUF SHĀH 'CHAK'S ACCESSION AND DETHRONEMENT

Sayyid Mubārak retires

Yūsuf Shāh formally ascended the throne in the year A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578) :

[*verses*]

With his accession, the office of the Chief Vizir passed on to Muḥammad Bhat. Sayyid Mubārak Khān now found himself preoccupied by thoughts of the transience of human life and the need for humility on the part of man. Holding his sons by their hands, he brought them to Yūsuf Shāh in the presence of the elders of this land, and said to him: "All the three sons of mine solemnly declare their allegiance to you and promise to fulfil all the pre-requisites of faithful subordination to you." He reiterated that he had decided to spend the rest of his life in seclusion and retirement, meditating all the time. He said, "It is too well-known that for a long time I have been seized by this desire but the late 'Alī Shāh always dissuaded me from taking a step in that direction and, in deference to his wishes, this could not, in fact, materialize." Yūsuf Shāh heard these words and nodded in agreement, At this, Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak felt overjoyed. But he did not cease to pay occasional visits to Yūsuf Shāh.

Abdāl's revolt

During the reign of Yūsuf Shāh, when Muḥammad Bhat had been in office for a little over two months, Abdāl Bhat, a rival to the high office of the Chief Vizir, finding himself disappointed, adopted a hostile attitude towards Yūsuf Shāh. He tried to align with himself disgruntled sections of the people of the land; and, through guile and craft, secured their assistance for realizing his plans. Finding that Sayyid

Mubārak Khan rarely went to Yūsuf Shāh, he concluded that it was an indication of some great confusion in the country.[1] By using false and sinister words, he frightened most of the people like 'Alī Khān, son of Nawroz Chak, and Shams Chak, son of Nājī Chak. In spite of the fact that they were near relatives of Yūsuf, he managed to align them with himself.

Abdāl Bhat chose a certain night for raising the banner of revolt, and destroyed the bridges over the river in the city, and on the 16th of Rabī'u'th-Thānī, A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578), he sought shelter in the house of Mīrān Sayyid Mubārah Khān. Showing profound regards and respect to him, he told him submissively that the Sayyid should not disappoint the supplicants by refusing to grant their request. They declared that bad times had forced them to seek redress of their grievances at the doors of the benign and generous Sayyid.

[*verses*]

The situation caused the Sayyid embarrassment ; for a moment he could not decide what course of action he should adopt. But, in conformity with his previous attitude of dissuading 'Alī Shāh from inflicting brutal punishments, he undertook to intercede for this group also and forthwith rode to meet Yūsuf Shāh.[2] But on his way he was told that this group, out of dread and fear of Yūsuf's soldiers, had hewed down the bridges over the river in the city and had, thus, precipitated trouble for Yūsuf Shāh. As the crossing of the river was rendered impossible by the hewed and destroyed bridges, the Sayyid was forced to retrace his steps. He came to the Idgāh mosque and summoned Bābā Khalīlu'llah to his presence to entrust him the mission of intercession for this group with Yūsuf Chak. Through him, he sent a verbal message to Yūsuf Shāh, entreating him to follow the policy of his father in upholding his (Sayyid's) intercession for the repenting insurgents. He expressed his faith in Yūsuf's laudable qualities of character and recommended that he overlook the acts of omis-

sion and commission of people, both high and low, of this land. He advised him to patronize them and thus work for the return of peace and tranquillity in the kingdom. But, despite Bābā Khalīl's forceful, persuasive and eloquent representation of their case with the intention of diffusing the tense situation, the counsellors and advisers of the Sulṭān did not pay heed to his words. On the contrary, they said that the culprits be brought before Yūsuf Shāh with their hands and feet put in fetters. They further threatened that anybody promising support to them or showing a partisan attitude towards them would only land himself in the throes of death and destruction.

Sayyid Mubārak confronts

Bābā Khalīlu'llah was disappointed for having failed in carrying out the mission entrusted to him by Sayyid Mubārak Khān. He was directed to go back, and close at his heels was despatched Muḥammad Khān, son of Ḥusi Chak, an acknowledged veteran of Yūsuf's army, for fighting Sayyid Mubārak Khān. His troops repaired the bridges over the river in the city near the *langar* of Bābā Bulbul; and crossing the river along with his troops and the ancillary staff, Yūsuf Shāh reached the Īdgāh maidan to fight Sayyid Mubārak Khān. It now became clear to the Sayyid that they [Yūsuf and his advisers] had abandoned the path of peace and compromise and had taken recourse to confrontation and fighting. Hence, without losing time, he came out with his small force to fight the large army of Yūsuf Shāh. But, before the actual fighting, he, once again, as on previous occasions, offered to negotiate and intercede on behalf of that (Abdāl's) group. But Yūsuf Shāh's commanders did not listen to him. They thought it an easy task to wipe out a handful of their opponents by making use of arrows, muskot fire, and fire-missiles ; thus they thought of strengthening and consolidating the position of Yūsuf Shāh.

As against this, the aforesaid Sayyid, proud of his inherent traits of bravery and manliness, got involved in a fight with a large number of his opponents. Historians

have given an account of this battle in prose as well as in verse.

[*verses*]

Battle at Idgāh

Being very close to each other the two armies found it impracticable to use arrows and lances. Consequently, they used their swords and daggers and got locked up in a hand to hand fight. In the course of fighting, Muḥammad Khān, a peerless warrior of this land, fell from his horse, but quickly got back into the saddle and continued to fight bravely and was slain.

[*verses*]

In the battle, Malik Mīr Qāsim, the youthful son of Nājī Malik, fought gallantly but was slain. 'Alī Malik, an accomplice of Abdāl Bhat and the cause of turmoil and destruction of Yūsuf Shāh's regime, received a blow from the sword of Mīr Muḥammad, son of Nājī Malik, which sliced off one of his nostrils and he fell down from his horse.

[*verses*]

At the instance of Lohar Chak, son of Shankar Chak, he got a second cut on the same wound which caused his death after a few days. Another recognized Kashmiri warrior, Ibrāhīm Ganāi, was slain on the battlefield by a stroke from the sword of Sayyid Ḥusain Khān. Most of the soldiers of Yūsuf's army sustained many deep wounds at the hands of the sons of the above-mentioned Sayyid. At last, finding themselves hard-pressed, they retreated by crossing the Nawākadal bridge and then rejoined Yūsuf Shāh at Zāldagar maidan. Some of his soldiers joined Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Khān's camp and the opponents of Yūsuf Shāh. It led to a large scale disorder and disruption in Yūsuf Shāh's domain.

[*verses*]

Yūsuf's tactics

On account of these developments, Yūsuf Shāh reproached his counsellors and advisers, accusing them of their short-sightedness and poor intelligence. He stressed that if they had heeded to the recommendations of Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Khān and acted upon them as they did in the past, they would not have seen this day of defeat and misery.

[*verses*]

Perceiving that Yūsuf Shāh had been overtaken by defeat and dejection, his opponents went to Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Khān and suggested to him that he should forthwith move towards Yūsuf Shāh and deny him a chance of withdrawing from the battlefield unhurt so that he does not become a cause of further chaos and confusion.

[*verses*]

For the good of the land this was sound advice but being a devotedly God-fearing man, he turned it down, and told them : "Only dogs fight over wretched morsels; it does not behove friends to fight over material possessions."

Mullā Ḥasan's negotiations

The Sayyid thus turned down the suggestion of chasing Yūsuf Shāh, saying that they had not to forget that he was the descendant of 'Alī Shāh. Yūsuf Shāh came to know of it and, because of his helplessness, adopted an attitude of friendship and conciliation. He deputed Mullā Ḥasan Asward, the tutor of the late 'Alī Shāh, on a mission to apprise Sayyid Mubārak Khān of the circumstances which had led to the present crisis. Mullā Ḥasan, in turn, communicated to the Sayyid all that Yūsuf had desired of him to report regarding the condoning of his past acts of omission. The Sayyid listened to the Mullā with full attention and told him that unlike in the past nobody was prepared to take his counsel then; and the result was chaos and disorder of great magnitude. If the ugly exchange of insults and counter-insults had not taken place, he would have called on Yūsuf Shāh that very moment, revealed the facts to him,

and reinstalled him on the throne. But as the disturbances were on the increase, it would be advisable that the aforesaid Shāh retired to some mountain place in Kashmir, the climate of which would suit him. He should live there for sometime with all his treasures and equippage. God willing, he would be recalled after some time, and re-installed on the throne of his kingdom.

Yūsuf dethroned

It may be recalled that, on account of a breakdown in the administration during the days of Yūsuf Shāh,[3] Ḥaidar Chak moved in from Kāmarāj and entered the services of Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Khān after the above-mentioned battle was over. In the course of deliberations between the Sayyid and Yūsuf's envoy, named Mullā Ḥasan, Ḥaidar Chak addressed the Mullā in uncivil words. Taking cue from the Sayyid, the Mullā reacted with harsh words, saying that the illustrious king had a hundred thousand footmen like him to run errands and it hardly behoved a man of his diminutive stature to speak contemptuously of him.

[*verses*]

Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Khān ignored them, and sent Bābā Khalīlu'llah, Mīrān Sayyid Barkhordār, and Mullā Ḥasan to Yūsuf Shāh to convey to him permission to leave. Yūsuf Shāh sent his royal belongings to the house of 'Alī Khān, son of Nawroz Chak,[4] through the brave and capable Nājī Malik; he proceeded to the mountains of Nāyaks,[5] a site for which he had a liking.

The stalemate

This course of action was hardly agreeable to Yūsuf's opponents, and the efforts of Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Khān to reestablish law and order in the state earned him nothing but their malice. All of them together with 'Alī Khān and Abdāl Bhat retired with pomp from the locality of Idgāh to their respective places. Showing due courtesy to them the Sayyid retired to his place.

Mubārak declines crown

Mīrān Sayyid was too self-abnegating to be tempted by wordly things and, as such, the throne of this land remained unoccupied for some time for want of an incumbent. Alī Khān, the eldest of brothers, saw that Mīrân Sayyid Mubārak Khān did not covet worldly possessions and, therefore, resolved to seize the authority of this land for himself. He felt encouraged by the support of his brothers and associates and felt haughty by the riches left by Yūsuf Shāh in his trust. For three successive days he remained confined to his house and did not call on Mīrân Sayyid Mubārak. The counsellors, the secretaries and the sons of Mīrān Sayyid came to him (Mīrān Sayyid) one by one and talked to him about the nature of the situation that prevailed. They told him that even a single minute of kingship was a boon and that royal robes befitted the body of none but he.

[*verses*]

They declared that he was the finest of the clan of noble Sayyids and the most illustrious of the elderly persons of that house. The Sayyid declined to oblige and told them that he was not interested and if they wanted him to be their friend he should be left alone. He further told them that they could entrust this important responsibility to anyone they liked.

[*verses*]

After saying these words, he came out of his private chamber and sat in the audience-hall.[6] He then distributed the crown and the royal parasol which had been artistically decorated and studded with precious jewels among his soldiers and spiritualists.[7] In this way, he caused searing pain to people with material ambitions.

[*verses*]

Mubārak assumes power

In the year A.H. 988 (A.D. 1580), the reins of authority of this realm passed into the hands of that illustrious Sayyid.

But he detested and, therefore, denied himself the display of pomp and glory. He freed the minds of the people of this land from fear of oppression and tyranny and opened the doors of equitable justice and compassion for one and all.[8] Years after this event, Kashmiri nobles and commanders received encouragement from Yūsuf Shāh,[9] and developed rancour and malice against Mubārak Shāh. They joined hands and on the second Sha'bān of the aforesaid year[10] re-called Yūsuf Shāh from the mountains.

Yūsuf returns

Yūsuf was brought to Barthal ranges.[11] and was joined by a large number of soldiers, villagers, horsemen, footmen and highlanders. On the other side, Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Shāh also started necessary preparations to keep his troops in readiness and moved on to the village Sast[12] [*sic*] wherefrom he sent a message to Yūsuf Shāh.[13] It said that since life was uncertain, he was sure that a mutual dialogue would be in the interests of peace and would lead to a solution to the crisis. "Let all fears be given up to help the beginning of a dialogue," it said. The message was conveyed to Yūsuf Shāh through one Dā'ūd Mīr. Yūsuf Shāh trusted the words of Sayyid Mubārak Shāh and despatched two of his sons, Mīrzā Ya'qūb and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, to him along with Dā'ūd Mīr and Mullā Ḥasan Aswad. He was also inclined to hold a meeting with him.

Meanwhile, Abdāl Bhat learnt about these negotiations. He sent word to Yūsuf Shāh and his commanders imploring them not to trust Sayyid Mubārak Khān and not to be duped into a meeting with him. He also added that [Abdāl Bhat and his party] had rectified their past lapses on their own and would henceforth strive their every nerve to achieve whatever aims and objectives he had. At last through flat-tery and cunning, he (Abdāl) succeeded in aligning with him-self a majority of nobles, commanders and soldiers of the realm of Kashmir and thus imagined himself to have been elevated to some superior position. In this way started the the rivalry and ill-will between them.[14]

The clash

Abdāl Bhat's words eventually destroyed Yūsuf Shāh's power of right thinking. His counsellors and advisers showed contemptuous indifference to Dā'ūd Mīr, the emissary, and spoke to him harshly:

[*verses*]

The emissary informed Mīrān Sayyid Muḥammad how badly he had been treated and what harsh and uncivil words were spoken to him [by the advisers of Yūsuf Shāh]. He further told him that they thought of nothing but fighting him. The aforesaid Sayyid, infused with a sense of valour and heroism, so pre-eminently needed in a warrior, set up a royal pageant and swiftly crossed mountains and plains with such facility as if he was moving through gardens, and engaged himself in fighting with his adversary. In this battle some enemy warriors of considerable renown like Gedā Beg Turkmān and Bolar Khān Afghān[15] were slain on the battlefield.

[*verses*]

Shanki Mīr Chādūra and others were taken prisoner and brought before the Sayyid with their hands and feet in chains. All the houses of Naji Raina in the village of Barthal were set on fire and got reduced to ashes.

Yūsuf Shāh, preferring death to a dishonourable life, took position on the steep mountain summit of Bartal along with a handful of his associates.[16]

[*verses*]

Mubārak relents

Sayyid Mīrān was moved by this, and out of compassion, he adopted a patronizing attitude towards Yūsuf Shāh's staff. He put a stop to the attempts of his soldiers and field commanders to take revenge against Yūsuf Shāh. On the aforesaid day, along with his soldiers, he entered into the city triumphantly. It almost looked like a pageant.

'Alī Khān, son of Nawroz Chak, held himself back for sometime in the countryside on the pretext of shikar and did not join Yūsuf Shāh. He explained his conduct to Sayyid Mubārak and returned to the city.

[*verses*]

Before doing so, he divulged to Abdāl Bhat all that had transpired between him and Yūsuf Shāh and also the words of love and friendship which he had spoken to him out of expediency. Although Abdāl was revolted by his words, he gave no expression to his feelings and kept it a secret.

During this time, Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Shāh was taken ill. Abdāl Bhat looked upon the Sayyid's temporary illness as a serious set-back to his plans. Forthwith he came to see him and pursuaded him to imprison 'Alī Khān for some time because, according to him, 'Alī Khān had once again taken to subversive activities. He also told him that it was necessary because of his failing health. Abdāl Bhat pleaded that 'Alī Khān could be set free after the disturbances had subsided and he was restored to health.

'Alī Khān trapped

Having discussed the proposed course of action with the advisers of Sayyid Mubārak so as to get it ratified by him, he went to 'Alī Khān and through deceit and cunning sent him to the presence of Sayyid Mubārak with pomp and show. Himself he returned to his lodging with the hope that on seeing the physical infirmity of the Sayyid, 'Alī Khān might be tempted to rise in revolt against him. 'Alī Khān dismounted from his horse and proceeded towards Mīrān Sayyid. Dā'ūd Mīr Piloo (Biloo ?), one of the veteran warriors of the Sayyid, took him by hand and led him straight to the prison-house. Most of his military officers and commanders, like Shams Dooni and Daulat Khān, became confused and sought refuge in the house of Mīrān Sayyid Ḥusain Khān. Shams Chak, 'Alam Sher Khān and others came as supplicants to the house of Mīrān Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Mu'ālī and offered to keep themselves at his disposal.

Abdāl's trick

Abdāl Bhat combined in himself the twin qualities of shrewdness and villainy. He told Lohar Chak and the top leaders of the tribe of Chaks that in that matter Mīrān Sayyid had acted independently and had never sought his advice. He cautioned them that a similar treatment could be meted out to them as well. This caused serious anxiety among the advisers and counsellors of Yūsuf Shāh, with the result that each of them took steps to ensure his own safety. They sent letters to Yūsuf Shāh in which they apparently appealed for unity with him, but these in fact carried the seeds of discord. They promised to him that even at the cost of their lives, they would try to achieve and fulfil whatever objective was set before them. They assured him that they would make a public announcement of the relevant facts when the time was ripe. At that time he was to move to the city swiftly without hesitation.

On the 15th of Sha'bān in the aforesaid year, Abdāl Bhat gave out the false story that Yūsuf Shāh had entered into the city. This rumour spread among the commoners as well as the soldiers. He got a soldier attired in royal robes and decorated with other regal appendages so that he looked like Yūsuf Shāh. An imposing pavilion was also set up and the imposter was brought to take the royal seat. The soldiers and the civilians believed that Yūsuf Shāh had returned to the city.[17] At the same time they also came to know of the physical infirmity of the Sayyid. Hence many people joined Abdāl Bhat in groups.

Mubārak reacts

Mīrān Sayyid learnt about the situation and, early in the morning, despite his physical infirmity, moved on to Idgāh maidān along with his troops and battle equipment to fight his opponents. He despatched the garrulous and sweet-tongued Muḥammad Padar as his messenger to Abdāl Bhat, conveying to him that it behoved the valiant to display whatever feats of valour they laid claim to on the battlefield. He had come on the Idgāh maidān to chal-

lenge him. Like a good warrior he should trust his words, cross the river in the city, and move his horsemen to the Idgāh maidan. Alternatively, he should give him a gentleman's promise to let his soldiers cross the river and take up their position at Zāldagar. They would prove their strength on the battlefield and whomsoever God blesses with victory, shall occupy the seat of governance of this realm.

The message touched the sense of honour of Kashmiri commanders who resolved to give a tough fight to the Sayyid ; and, consequently, moved on to the river bank. Apart from possessing considerable experience in fighting, Abdāl Bhāt was as wise as he was brave. Many a time had he been a witness to the bravery of the aforesaid Sayyid on the battlefield and, besides, had also heard stories of his dauntless courage. Therefore, in the context of the impending situation, he held consultations with his field commanders and issued strict instructions to them not to move from their positions. He cautioned them that a fight with that group would affect them adversely and nobody could save his life unless he fled from the battlefield.

[*verses*]

"It is only prudent that our numerical strength should not make us complacent nor should we feel overconfident about our bravery. It would be sheer stupidity to decide upon a fight for revenge without taking cognizance of the realities of the situation. Certainly, duplicity and craft shall have to be employed to deal with the situation," he observed.[18]

[*verses*]

Abdāl's cunning

After taking stock of things, Abdāl Bhat thought of resorting to guile to further his objective, although he was not very sure whether his villainy would succeed. He immediately summoned to his presence Bābā Khalīlu'llah, in whose august presence he sent a messenger to Yūsuf Shāh with a letter stating that the nobles and commanders of Kashmir

had concluded a solemn agreement and resolved to act upon one another's friendly advice according to which they meant to offer to him the power and authority of the government of this land. As such he was to make no delay in coming. A verbal message was also sent to him which conveyed 'Alī Khān's agreement to what they had stated in their letter. At that time 'Alī Khān was a prisoner in the hands of the representatives of Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Shāh.

[*verses*]

Abdāl Bhat drew the plans in the presence of Bābā Khalilu'llah and Mīrān Sayyid Barkhordār. He employed whatever craft he could and sent a message to Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak at Īdgāh: "Sayyid Mubārak Khān should not consider today's event as a mere happening. Since 'Alī Khān has been detained by your agents without reason, the people have become apprehensive. They destroyed the bridges over the river in the city to secure themselves against danger. In fact, this group requests your protection and does not want to confront you."

[*verses*]

An action which was inherently dangerous did not take place and a calamity which could have caused chaos had been averted. The message ran further: "Inglorious is the person who rakes up trouble and disorder or takes recourse to fighting and hostility when a possibility of solving the issue through peaceful means and negotiations is not lacking. It has been our considered opinion that Yūsuf Shāh should be recalled and a conference be held with your officials at the *khānqāh* of Bābā Khalilu'llah in honest faith with a view to laying down necessary conditions of agreement. Yūsuf Shāh should be re-installed on his throne and all the chiefs and commanders should be allowed to resume authority and control over their respective frontiers and divisions as per the practice in the past. In this way chaos and disorder shall be stamped out and order restored. You may come to the *khānqāh* of Bābā Khalīl along with 'Alī Khān to put seal on the proposed agreement."

Mīr Sayyid trapped

The aforesaid Sayyid acted upon their suggestion and got 'Alī Khān's fetters removed. 'Alī Khān consulted his son Yūsuf Khān about Abdāl Bhat's action. His opinion was that it would not be practicable to implement the suggestion unless Mīrān Sayyid was restored to his health and strength. He said that if they visited the camp of the enemy in his state of physical infirmity, they might be taken captives. His opinion was that prudence demanded that since the sons and counsellors of Mīrān Sayyid were disturbed by his physical weakness and that there was virtually no dispute or cause for dispute between them ['Alī Khān and his son], rather as the Sayyids were sorry for their faults, they should not take the risk of going to the camp of the enemy and allow themselves to be overpowered by them.

[*verses*]

Trusting the friendly overtures of Abdāl Bhat and not paying heed to the right suggestion of his son and not thoroughly considering these words to be of an interested person, 'Alī Khān left the battlefield and walked the distance from Īdgāh and arrived at the *khānqāh* of Bābā Khalīlu'llah. The aforesaid Sayyid, too, dismounted from his horse and, because of his weak health, reclined against the wall of the *khānqāh*. His sons and soldiers saw that crowds of people had begun to assemble around them. Hence they dispersed and retired to safe place. Only two of his sons, namely Mīrān Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Mu'ālī and Ibrāhīm Khān, kept him company.

Delegation under Ḥaidar Chak

Most of his (Sayyid Mubārak Khān's) kinsmen and near ones, confused and embarrassed as they were, joined Yūsuf Shāh at the village called Pantehchuk.[19] Thus the plan of Abdāl Bhat succeeded:

[*verses*]

He immediately sent Ḥaidar Chak along with a team of seniors to Sayyid Mubārak Khān. They found that the lion

of the battlefields had lost his power and strength on account of his illness, and had now taken to meditation and telling of beads. 'Alī Khān was granted permission to return to his house. To Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Khan he showed due courtesy and regard and sat with him in the boat that brought him to his lodging. But there is a saying that what is ordained cannot be changed :

[*verses*]

That very moment 'Alī Khān, along with his son, was dragged out of his house, brought to the house of Lohar Chak, and finally put in chains. His son Yūsuf Khān, on witnessing the turn of events, could have said after the poet :

> (On my dear, much did I entreat ye not to go to a place where ye be caught. Ye did go and then happened what I had feared.)[20]

After this event Abdāl Bhat felt sory for having acted unfairly and for having broken his promise. He sent his son to Yūsuf Khān post-haste to tell him that the situation was such that his coming would bring harm to him and could even aggravate the situation further. He advised him to turn back :

[*verses*]

This news forced Yūsuf Shāh to think, but for a while he was overtaken by confusion. At last he returned to his old place.[21] There he spent a few days and then established liaison with the cousins of Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Shāh and proceeded to the court of Akbar Pādshāh at Agra to seek assistance.

Lohar Chak

In the aforessid year,[22] Abdāl Bhat, with the support and consent of the commanders of this land, installed Lohar Chak, son of Shankar Chak, on the throne of Kashmir. But in effect, he concentrated all power in his own hands and reduced Lohar Chak to the position of a nominal king. Except for reading the homily (*khuṭba*) and the striking of coins in his name, Lohar Chak had no authority whatsoever.

Some of the notable persons of this land, such as Ḥabīb Khān, son of Abdāl Khān, who loved Yūsuf Shāh's company, broke away from Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Shāh and joined hands with Abdāl Bhat.[23] But this shift of loyalty caused them much anxiety, because Abdāl Bhat dealt with them in an arbitrary and autocratic manner. He either put them in prison or held out threats to them, but did not take the extreme step of liquidating them or putting them to the sword. In fact, later on, he was not really unfavourably disposed towards them.

For one year, he (Abdāl Bhat) ruled over the people of this land in a manner already mentioned.[24] In course of time most of the people of this land, including soldiers and horsemen, ran away to join Yūsuf Shāh whenever an opportunity came their way. These, for instance, included men like Shams Chak and 'Alam Sher Khān.

Akbar and Yūsuf Shāh

A year after the assumption of reins of kingship, Akbar showed royal favour to Yūsuf Shāh by offering him two mistresses.[25] He entrusted the mission of conquering Kashmir to Mīrza Yūsuf Khān and Rājā Mān Singh.[26] The victorious imperial army reached the capital city of Lahore. Yūsuf Shāh, along with his troops, proceeded towards Bahlool Pore to know about the commanders of that land and also to meet his sons.[27] These reports were brought to Abdāl Bhat and his commanders who lost no time in despatching their secret messengers with letters to Yūsuf Shāh, the contents of which were couched in soft words. They wrote to him that he should be careful about the developments which had taken place and know that the imperial troops might behave in a different manner after they had occupied the land.

[*verses*]

In his letter Abdāl Bhat told him to trust his words and promises and not hold him responsible for whatever faults there were in the past. He suggested to him that he should

leave the imperial troops and return to this country without entertaining any fears.[28]

[verses]

Yūsuf deserts

Ensnared by false promises and trusting the deceptive overtures of that group of people, Yūsuf Shāh turned towards Rajouri mountain range from Bahlool Pora.[29] He left his family and children in the fort at Parot [*sic*] and himself descended on the village Verinag situated at the foot of Kashmir mountains.

The news of Yūsuf Shāh's escape was received by Akbar with disapproval. He felt displeased and criticised Rājā Mān Singh and Yūsuf Khān. Yūsuf Shāh stationed himself at Verinag and in this way Abdāl Bhat created trouble for himself. In order to ensure security and safety of Hirpur pass, Yūsuf Khān, son of Ḥusain Shāh sent a contingent of troops with commanders such as Ḥusain Khān, son of Ibeh Shāh, and others. But this group of soldiers took advantage of the opportunity and joined Yūsuf Shāh at the aforesaid village. Mīr Ḥasan Chādūru (Chādūra) and Shams Dooni also joined Yūsuf Shāh along with their troops. Everyday footmen and horsemen of this land ran away and joined Yūsuf Shāh's army, whenever they got an opportunity to do so.

Abdāl Bhat broke his pledges and promises and made preparations for a confrontation with Yūsuf Shāh and sealed all paths through which his troops could have forced their entry into the Valley :

[verses]

From Abdāl Bhat's actions Yūsuf Shāh could follow that he (Abdāl) would try to seek the support of Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Shāh for himself through flattery and guile. He, therefore, sent a secret messenger with a letter to Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Shāh reminding him that Abdāl Bhat was trying to make overtures to him for no purpose other than

that of soliciting his support to strengthen his own position and for his selfish interests. As such, he requested him to oblige him (Yūsuf Shāh) by not extending his support to Abdāl Bhat. Yūsuf Shāh conveyed to him that he had left the fruition of his enterprise to God Almighty and the blessings of the respected Sayyid. He was sure that any adventure undertaken by Abdāl Bhat without the tactical advice of the Sayyid was bound to fail.

[*verses*]

Yūsuf Shāh strikes

The message from Yūsuf Shāh fully confirmed Mīrān Sayyid's own assessment of the situation and he found himself disposed to agree with him. Thus sings the bard :[30]

> A heart finds its way to a reciprocating heart under the dome of the sky. Love begets love and enmity begets enmity.

Thus Mīrān Sayyid responded to the message of Yūsuf Shāh. Expressing his approval of Yūsuf Shāh's onward march [to the city], he bade farewell to his messenger. Mīrān Sayyid's encouraging reply brought joy and exultation to Yūsuf Shāh. Without loss of time, he mounted his horse and, making a dash from the aforesaid village, took the Tsereh-hār route, struck a devastating blow to the passholders of Abdāl Bhat, and forced his entry into the town of Kashmir [Sopor].[31] Lohar Chak's troops had been stationed at Sopor with the purpose of ensuring the security of those areas. But with God's help, Yūsuf Shāh broke their might and occupied the town of Sopor and its surrounding areas. He stationed himself at that place and sent word to Abdāl Bhat through a messenger that, relying on his promises and letters, he had left the imperial troops and encamped at Sopor. If Abdāl was true to his word, he should immediately proceed to meet him and submit to him so that with his cooperation, he would march on to occupy the seat of kingship.

[*verses*]

Abdāl's overtures

To this message Abdāl Bhat reacted with cool-headed diplomacy of giving false assurances to the messenger and bidding him return to his master. For the purpose of strengthening Lohar Shāh's regime, Abdāl Bhat released Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Shāh and 'Alī Khān from prison and tried to win them over by soft words. Although this action increased the prestige of Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Shāh, yet, fully conscious of the fact that the glib-tongued Abdāl Bhat's words were nonsense, he preferred to remain tight-lipped and sought to engage himself in meditation in the prayer-house to the last day of his life.

[*verses*]

Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak prayed and meditated devoutedly and this shall receive further notice shortly.

Ya'qūb trapped

'Alī Khān, acting in concert with Lohar Shāh and Abdāl Bhat, raised the banner of opposition against Yūsuf Shāh to further his interests. In this way they determined to destroy Yūsuf Shāh.

[*verses*]

They also incited Ya'qūb Shāh, the son of Yūsuf Shāh, to adopt a bellicose stance towards his father and force an armed confrontation with him. On finding that 'Alī Khān, Mīrzā Ya'qūb and others had united to rise against Yūsuf Shāh, Abdāl Bhat regretted the promises and commitments he had made for him. He then marched out of the city and headed towards Sopor where he finally took position on the bank of the river. For some days, they were engaged in sporadic fighting, shooting a casual arrow or firing a stray musket. What prevented the sides from a major conflict was the river and their inability to cross it. After holding consultations of tactical nature with 'Alī Khān, Abdāl Bhat placed a force of two thousand strong and well-equipped horsemen under the command of Ḥaidar Chak to proceed via Kiyamah[32] [*sic*] route for engaging Yūsuf Shāh's troops.

On the same day, he deployed his brother, 'Alī Bhat, on the adventure of crossing the river at Sopor and, in this way, he played the role of a fox and lion.[33] Through Bābā Khalīl he advised Yūsuf Shāh purporting that "this humble servant had been the beneficiary of 'Alī Shāh, and it was his magnanimity which had elevated him from the dust. It, therefore, was incumbant upon him not to conceal from him whatever nefarious designs or plans were being drawn to create anarchy and confusion in the state. He meant to report that some of the nobles and commanders of his army conspired to desert him when the fighting would be in full swing and join the ranks of Lohar Shāh's troops. Lohar Shāh had drawn a plan to cross the river in the early hours of the morning along with the entire body of his soldiers and camp followers and give him a tough fight. Again, Ḥaidar Chak, at the head of two thousand troops, all armed to the teeth, had already taken position at the village Buyeh Sangari[34] and he was poised to launch an attack from the rear. So he was warned in strict confidence that that very night he should hasten towards Poonch, failing which, he would only help his enemy to become their prisoner.[35]

[*verses*]

To these veiled threats and intimidation, conveyed through Bābā Khalīlu'llah, Yūsuf Shāh sent a versified reply :[36]

[*verses*]

Abdāl Bhat received this reply but, emboldened by superior numerical strength of his troops in comparison to those of Yūsuf, he made a cool and calculated assessment and chose to send no reply. Permitting Bābā Khalīlu'llah to return to the city, he kept himself in readiness for a battle with Yūsuf Shāh :

[*verses*]

The battle

In the early hours of the following morning, Yūsuf Shāh cleared his way a little downwards the town of Sopor.[37]

and, riding a swift horse crossed over to the other bank. He deployed his troops in accordance with the plan he had drawn in advance. A contingent of foot soldiers was deployed on the right flank and some of his fire-spitting machines on the left. With this arrangement, he made an advance to meet his adversary. Lohar Shāh was informed of this tactical move of Yūsuf's troops. Consequently, he placed Abdāl Bhat in charge of the vanguard of his grand army and made a direct onslaught on the enemy. The two warring armies stood with an eye-ball to eye-ball stance, and it was Abdāl Bhat who struck first. With a single stroke of his dragon-piercing lance, Yūsuf Shāh relieved Abdāl Bhat of his life.

[*verses*]

The date of his death on the battlefield has been recorded in the chronogram *nāgahān shīr darīdeh dimnak*. Then followed the lightening attacks from Yūsuf Shāh and his veteran commanders like Yūsuf Khān, son of Ḥusain Shāh, Ḥusain Khān, son of Ibeh Shāh, Shams Chak, son of Daulat Chak, Mīr Ḥasan, son of Nājī Malik, 'Alam Sher Khān, Shams Dooni, Sayyid Saif Khān Baihaqī and his brothers, each of whom had won the rightful title of the battle hero. Unable to withstand their attacks, Lohar Shāh abandoned the royal parasol on the battlefield and fled for his life.

[*verses*]

Ḥabīb Khān, son of Abdāl Khān, whom Abdāl Bhat had, prior to Yūsuf Shāh's attack, thrown into the prison and was found on the battlefield groaning under heavy and painful chains, was released.

By sheer bravery and courage, Yūsuf Shāh proceeded triumphantly towards the city. His advance caused confusion in the ranks of Ḥaidar Chak's army, and soldiers began to desert him. Ḥaidar Chak was also forced to flee virtually bare-footed, along with a handful of his followers, through Tsereh-hār pass.

NOTES

1. The relationship between Yūsuf Shāh and Sayyid Mubārak Shāh is somewhat intriguing. At the time of Yūsuf Shāh's accession to the throne of Kashmir, the Sayyid affirms his and his sons' loyalty to him. After some time, however, the Sayyid, who had nearly given up his earthly ambitions, becomes instrumental in dislodging him from the throne. Therefore the nature of the relationship between them needs a thorough investigation.

2. Ḥasan says that the Sayyid declined to intervene directly in the matter because he considered it harmful to his own interests. Instead, he sent Bābā Khalīl to Yūsuf Shāh to pursuade him to take recourse to reconciliation with the insurgents. See *TḤK*. p. 299.

3. Malik Ḥaidar also alludes to a breakdown in the administration of the state during the first term of Yūsuf Shāh's reign, which lasted for forty days. See *TMḤ*. MS. f. 65^b.

4. Ḥasan says that he sent his crown to Sayyid Mubārak Khān through Bābā Khalīlu'llah. *TḤK*. p. 300. According to Malik Ḥaidar, it was sent through Malik Muḥammad Nājī. *TMḤ*. MS. f. 66^b. In another MS. of Malik Ḥaidar's history, it is recorded that the crown and the royal parasol were sent to the Sayyid through Malik Muḥammad Nājī and Qāḍī Mūsā. *TMḤ*. MS(A), f. 68.

5. Malik Ḥaidar says that he went to the Indian mountains. *TMḤ*. MS. f. 66^b.

6. Ḥasan writes that about an hour after he was crowned he retired to his private room, lifted the crown from his head, placed it in front of him and said, "Oh my inauspicious self, verily this royal crown is of no worth. Do not be proud because on the day of death, the head will lay on vile dust. The crown, which may be worn for a few days only, is in truth a burden." *TḤK*. p. 301.

7. Ḥasan states that the Sayyid put on ordinary clothes and began attending to the affairs of the state. *TḤK*. p. 301.

8. Ḥasan says that he abolished oppressive and tyrannical practices which had become rampant during the reign of the Chaks. *Ibid.*

9. This statement is not corroborated either by Ḥasan or by Malik Ḥaidar. In fact, the latter writes that it was not Yūsuf Shāh who encouraged them, but they who made overtures to him. The reason was that during his short reign of fifteen days the Sayyid treated the commanders badly and was tyrannical even to the common people. In this way the author's statement that he was just and compassionate towards people is repudiated by him. This too, calls for further investigation. See *TMḤ*. MS. f. 67[a].

10. A.H. 988/A.D. 1580.

11. In the *pargana* of Vesu in *TMḤ*. MS. f. 67[a].

12. Sindh in *TḤK*. p. 302.

13. A written message was sent which began with this Persian couplet :

> *Shahā faqr-o fanā az mā wa mulk-o azz-o jāh az tū*
> *kih dunyā rā wofāī nīst khwāh az mā wa khwāh az tū.*

TḤK. p. 302.

14. The contents of the letter which have been put in the form of verse in the present text have also been used by Ḥasan in his history, with some variations. Ḥasan has only three verses as against eight in the present text, and even in those three there are two or three variations. Since the verses are a part of a message which must have been recorded earlier, it seems likely that the source for both the historians is the same.

15. Bolar Khān Tīmūr in *TḤK*. p. 303.

16. According to Malik Ḥaidar a group of soldiers who had hitherto committed themselves to Yūsuf Khān, betrayed him, which forced him to return to the Indian mountains without hazarding a battle with his opponents. *TMḤ*. MS. f. 67[a].

17. The strange story of the imposter does not figure either in Ḥasan or in Malik Ḥaidar.

18. Ḥasan criticizes him for his reluctance to have a straight fight with the Sayyid. See *TḤK*. p. 305.

19. Between the present-day Batwāra and Pampore near Srinagar.

20. *guftam ay dil maraw ānjā kih giriftār shawī*
'āgebat rafti-o ham guft-i manat pīsh āmad

21. Ḥasan writes that Yūsuf Khān reached Pattan at that time. See TḤK. p. 306. But the actual place where he had camped has not been mentioned.

22. A.H. 988/A.D. 1580.

23. Malik Ḥaidar says that they were fed up with the bad temperament of Sayyid Mubārak Khān. *TMḤ*. MS. 67[a].

24. Historians have recorded that Lohar Chak meted out just and kind treatment to the people. There was a good harvest during his reign and paddy was available at cheap rates. See *TMḤ*. MS. f. 67[b], and *TḤK*. pp. 306-7.

25. According to Ḥasan, Yūsuf Shāh stayed at the Imperial Court for eleven months. *TḤK*. p. 307.

26. For details about their mission see *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, Vol. III, pp. 314-21.

27. From Malik Ḥaidar's *Tārīkh* it appears that Yūsuf Shāh was given very small military help by Akbar. Muḥammad Bhat the former Chief Vizir of Yūsuf Shāh proceeded to Lahore leaving behind at Bahlool Pora about a thousand soldiers (MS. f. 68[a]). In Lahore and some other parts of Panjab, he managed to raise a force of about four thousand soldiers. He also raised a huge loan from the business community of Lahore. See *TḤK*. p. 309. Also see *Wāqa'āt-i-Kashmir*, Muḥammad Āzam Dedemari. p. 95.

28. For more details about Abdāl Bhat's communication to Yūsuf Shāh, see *TḤK*. pp. 308-9.

29. Rai Bahādur, the *Zamīndār* of Rajouri, joined hands with Yūsuf Khān and he made Rai the foremost commander of his army. See *TMḤ*. MS. f. 68[a].

30. *dil rā ba dil rahīst darin gonbad-e spehr*
az sū-i kineh kineh-o az sū-i mehr mehr.

31. *baldah-e Kashmir* means the town of Kashmir or Sopor as against *shahr-i Kashmir* meaning the city of Kashmir or Srinagar.

32. Khuīhāma in *THK*. p. 310.

33. Allusion is to *Kalileh wa Dimneh*.

34. Present Bābā Shakūru'd-Dīn hill-top between Khuīhāma and Sopor where Rājā Prahlād had built the Prateśwara temple. It was called Bosangeri. The other name of the hillock given in Kashmirian histories is Sherehkot. See *THK*. p. 34.

35. Malik Ḥaidar does not give this story; instead he says it was Shams Dooni, one of his commanders, who suggested to him that since he had a smaller number of troops at his disposal, he should retire to Poonch via Gurimarg (Gulmarg) route, but the suggestion was turned down by Malik Muḥammad Ḥasan. See *TMH*. MS. f. 68b.

36. This versified reply figures in the history of Ḥasan also, confirming the earlier guess that the two historians had a common source. See *THK*. p. 311.

37. He crossed the river near Delina shortly after midnight under candlelight. See *THK*. p. 312.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RISE AND FALL OF YŪSUF SHĀH CHAK

Muḥammad Bhat's ministry

Yūsuf Shāh ascended the throne for the second time[1] in A.H. 988 (A.D. 1580), entrusting Muḥammad Bhat with the power and position of the Chief Vizir of his domain. This Muḥammad Bhat was a sagacious and clear-headed man, an excellent conversationalist and was gifted with a sweet and persuasive tongue; he could enliven his companions with his brilliant wit and devastating repartees. He was bounteous towards the poor and the destitute :

[*verses*]

[At this time] five thousand soldiers, who had fled the battlefield at Sopor and had sought refuge in the city of Kashmir [Srinagar], were still at large and had not surrendered to Yūsuf Shāh. Muḥammad Mir put it wittily saying that perhaps five thousand absconding cavalrymen could still invite them to a battle-feast. Yūsuf Shāh replied by saying that he was God's grace for the virtuous and the pure, but God's scourge for the wicked and the seditious. He declared that he combined in himself wrath and compassion, poison and elixir.

[*verses*]

Lohar's failure

Wise men say that the affairs of the world hinge on statesmanship : it functions as a provost marshal in this material world. For want of statesmanship, important affairs of the world can end disastrously. If disciplinary laws are non-existent, affairs of this world will end in disaster. Without censure and without necessary reprimand, there will be disruption in the world. No country can exist without a proper system of justice ; and yet it will not look like one without statesmanship.[2] Muḥammad Bhat said that prudence demanded that spies be pressed into service to seek

the fleeing soldiers from their houses or wherever they were hiding and to bring them to book. Secret agents were sent to several places. Lohar Shāh was found hiding in the basement of the house of Qāḍī, and Muḥammad Khān was found in the house Mīrān Sayyid Barkhordār. Both were brought to the presence of Yūsuf Shāh.

Opponents crushed

Ḥusī Chak had always boasted of his bravery and valour on the battlefield, and people in these lands begun to give credence to his boastful words. But he was so badly mauled by Yūsuf Shāh on the battlefield that he could not even manage his escape either to India or to Tibet, though he had sufficient time at his disposal. He abandoned his horse and hid himself in the barn of Chamshi Mamosa [*sic*]. Ḥusī Bhat, the brother of Muḥammad Bhat, found him and brought him to the presence of Yūsuf Shāh. Finding that he (Ḥusī Chak) was unable to answer him because of his nerveousness. Yūsuf Shāh was reminded of this verse :

A complete man is one who speaks not, but acts,
One who speaks and acts is but half a man.

He who speaks not and acts not is but a woman,
And half the woman is one who speaks but does not act.

Petseh Ganāi, a ring leader of the trouble-mongers of this land, had sought refuge in the house of Yūsuf Khān, son of Ḥusain Shāh. He was dragged out and brought before Yūsuf Shāh who interrogated him. Driven by his innate vulgarity, this person, who lacked sense, made indiscreet and vain utterances in the presence of Yūsuf Shāh. But the latter exhibited self-control, and did not take any retaliatory action to censure him. One by one, the remaining troops and villagers, who were among the fleeing group, were brought out from their hiding places to Yūsuf's presence. They were brought together and he addressed them in person. He enumerated their failings one after another, as thus :

"First, by taking recourse to animosity and defiance, you totally ignored the path of peace and conciliation and made no secret of your disloyalty to me. You deserted me and joined hands with Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Shāh with the sole purpose of raising the banner of revolt. You involved the Sayyid in your treason. Secondly, that elderly Sayyid had bestowed benefactions upon you, but you proved ungrateful to him by indulging in acts of subterfuge and sabotage. You recalled me from the village of Bartal but subsequently went back on your commitment, putting me in an embarrassing situation. Then you aligned yourselves with Lohar Shāh and connived at his accession to the throne. Thirdly, when I sought the help of the imperial army to re-conquer Kashmir, you sent me flattering letters holding out solemn promises that henceforth you would neither back out nor defy nor disregard my authority. Relying on these promises, I left the imperial army and came to this domain. But then, feigning ignorance, you forgot the promises you had made. Not only that, you arrayed troops against me. Fourthly, my father was kind and generous to you. From the depths of lowliness he lifted you to the heights of manliness, and I, in my own turn, extended the same liberal treatment to you. In fact, I added something to enhance your prestige. But you proved your ingratitude by instigating rebellion against me. You have, thus, wilfully transgressed the tenets of the religion of Muḥammad and flouted the conventions of the Ḥanafī sect, and, not acted in accordance with the Qur'ānic commands—be obedient to God, to the Prophet and to those who command authority over you.[3] You pressed yourselves into the company of rebels. Therefore, killing you and depriving you of your property will be in conformity with the sanctions of religion."

On hearing these words of Yūsuf Shāh, Abdāl Bhat almost lost his speech. Yūsuf Shāh got the eyes of Lohar Shāh, his brother Muḥammad Khān and Ḥusī Chak[4] gouged out and they were, thus, deprived of their eyesight. Petseh

Ganāī, Fatḥ Khān Jand [*sic*] and Ḥusain Kokeh were punished by amputation of their limbs. Yūsuf Lund, Alī Khān Sirigāma [*sic*] and 'Alī Bhat, the brother of Abdāl Bhat, were ordered to pay a certain amount of money as indemnity usually imposed on prisoners of war. 'Alī Khān, Nawroz Chak and his son Yūsuf Khān, were spared their lives, but were put in prison. The rest of the soldiers and the villagers were pardoned and were reinstated in their *jāgīrs* as of old.

Conciliation with Mīrān Sayyid

After dealing with the situation in a manner described above, Yūsuf Shāh decided to call on Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak. In order to strengthen his regime, he concluded matrimonial alliance with that house by giving his daughter in marriage to Mīrān Sayyid's grandson. After this, he ruled without any worry and anxiety. There was a revival of his cordial and affectionate relations with Mīrān Sayyid's house and frequent visits to the Sayyid's house strengthened these bonds. He also occasionally invited Mīrān Sayyid to his palace.

Yūsuf's personality

Yūsuf Shāh was gifted with a beautiful and graceful body and disposition. He was well versed in music and Hindi, Kashmiri and Persian poetry. His compositions were popular with the lovers of music. His Hindi, Kashmiri and Persian verses were well-known in Hindustan and Kashmir and often quoted by the erudite and the poets. Of his Persian compositions, we quote one verse in this chronicle.[5] He spent most of his time in physical and sensuous enjoyments; he amused himself with sport, gave himself up to the tune of the lute and dulcimer after the true spirit of the verse :[6]

> Enjoy yourself because in just a twinkling of the eye.
>
> The autumn is about to arrive and the spring about to go.

Uprising suppressed

Some of the prominent nobles of this land, Shamsi Chak,

'Alam Sher Khān, Sayyid Saif Khān and Muḥammad Lung found that Yūsuf Shāh, on account of his excessive carelessness, had been grossly neglecting state affairs. As such, they firmly resolved to create disorder in the state afresh. On knowing this, Yūsuf Shāh got all the four persons arrested and imprisoned. The event brought this verse to his lips :[7]

> 'I am seized of the serious throught of how to extend my patronage to him, but he is seized of the thought of uprooting me.'

Sometime later, Saif Khān and Muḥammad Lung were released, but Shamsi Chak and 'Alam Sher Khān continued to languish in prison. Ḥabīb Khān was filled with fear and apprehension and he broke his promises and commitments, and fled to Udreseh mountains from where he began to foment trouble.[8] After two or three months, Ḥaidar Chak, who returned from India,[9] joined him. Shamsi Chak, with the abetment of Ḥaidar Malik, a blood relation of his, led a revolt against Yūsuf Shāh in the fort of Bulūr which was situated on the borders of Kamarāj. Yūsuf Shāh's troops laid a siege to the fort and overpowered him by sheer numerical strength. Shamsi was captured and brought before him. Although he was related to the children of Yūsuf Shāh, and on that basis pleaded with him for his acquittal, his pleadings were of no avail because he was the ring-leader of the group of seditionists. "To expect faithfulness from a king is like expecting fruit from a cypress tree."

Ḥaidar Chak's uprising

However, some time later, Yūsuf Khān, son of 'Alī Khān and Nawroz Chak, who have already figured in the pages of this chronicle, escaped from the house of Lohar [*sic*], where they had been interned, and joined the forces of Ḥabīb Khān. A large number of the sons of nobles of of this land assembled and deliberated over the ways and means of destroying the authority of Yūsuf Shāh. They approached the governor of Greater Tibet for assistance. The governor named Bamaldi, a man of commanding personality,

was sovereign and powerful, with innumerable troops under his command. He placed four to five thousand soldiers of his at their disposal and for their assistance; all fully equipped with such arms and equipment as are required in a battle.

Yūsuf Shāh came to know of the troops and materials given by the ruler of Tibet [to the Kashmiri nobles]. Consequently, he also sent his troops as well as private combatants of this land, all equipped with necessary arms, to face them. Ḥabīb Khān, Ḥaidar Chak, and Yūsuf khān got the news that Yūsuf Chak's columns were advancing. It caused them great confusion. Their forces were torn by internal conflicts and mutual jealousy. This disturbing situation disheartened the reinforcing columns from Tibet who decided upon retracing their steps without getting involved in a battle.

Ḥaidar Chak was defeated and he fled towards Kāthwār (Kishtwār) but Ḥabid Khān's routes of escape were blocked and he was forced to turn towards the city where he hid himself, and even in that state, he continued his disruptive activities.

[verses]

After several days of search and enquiry, about ten rebellious nobles were captured around the village of Sonwār and brought before Yūsuf Shāh. Yūsuf Khān, son of 'Alī Khān, was captured along with his brothers in the *pargana* of Bring. Yūsuf Shāh punished them so that the disorder created by them was remedied :

[verses]

Ḥabīb Khān's eyes were gouged out and Yūsuf Khān, son of 'Alī Khān, and his brothers were punished with amputation of limbs. 'Alī Khān, son of Nawroz Chak, was a pious and God-loving man, alive to the duties and obligations of the material and spiritual world. When he lost his eyes in the manner mentioned above—a matter of divine

ordination—he stood up the next moment to offer prayers in thankfulness to God the Needless, uttering the quatrain :

[*verses*]

Muḥammad Bhat's conduct

Thereafter, the office of the Chief Vizir of Yūsuf Shāh remained with Muḥammad Bhat. He was obsessed by his enmity towards Shamsi Dooni, and time and again instigated Yūsuf Shāh to seek revenge against him on one pretext or the other. But, because of Yūsuf Shāh's innate good disposition, he did not listen to his interested words and did not take any vindictive step against Shams Dooni. The disgruntled Muḥammad Bhat thus became malicious towards Yūsuf Shāh, and eventually, joined hands with Yūsuf Khān, son of Ḥusain Shāh. They worked in collusion to find an opportunity to put an end to his life. But it did not materialize because of their inability to make the sons of Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Shāh agree to this. Under these circumstances, Yūsuf Khān grew apprehensive and, along with some of his soldiers, fled in the darkness of the night to Udrasah[10] mountains. Leading his troops, Yūsuf Shāh, along with the sons of Mīrān Sayyid, gave him a hot pursuit right upto the above-mentioned mountains. During their pursuit, there was an encounter between them in which Ḥusī Bhat, the brother of the above-mentioned Muḥammad Bhat, was wounded and his troops were overpowered. They were forced to withdraw to the summits of the mountains, where they were surrounded by Yūsuf Shāh. Muḥammad Mīr [*sic*] was taken prisoner. Some of his soldiers sustained wounds, but managed to join Ḥaidar Chak. Others got scattered over those areas in a miserable plight. Ḥaidar Chak felt strengthened on account of an increase in his troops.

Ya'qūb's defiance

After these events, Mīrzā Ya'qūb, being immature and also having come under the vicious influence of a group of miscreants, felt dissatisfied in the service of his illustrious father. With the connivance of Ibeh Khān, son of Abdāl Khān, he escaped to Kāthwāl mountains. After a few days,

Yūsuf Shāh despatched one Mullā Ḥasan Aswad as his emissary to his son. Using mild and persuasive words and tact, he exhorted Ya'qūb to return to his father and show him due respect :

[*verses*]

Ḥaidar Chak escapes

Frightened of Yūsuf Shāh's wrath, Ibeh Khān went to Ḥaidar Chak. After this event, Shamsi Chak, who had been imprisoned when Yūsuf Shāh ascended the throne, contrived his escape and joined Ḥaidar Chak at Kāthwāl. Finding that Yūsuf Shāh's position had become vulnerable, the trouble-mongers took to subversive disorderly acts wherever they could. In order to prevent people from establishing rapport with Ḥaidar Chak and also for reasons of security, Yūsuf Shāh deputed Sher 'Alī Bhat and Naji Raina to encamp at Kenal [*sic*] (Konehbal ?). But these commanders abandoned themselves to negligence, forgot the enemy and whiled away a few days at that place. Ḥaidar Chak found that they were completely negligent and, taking advantage of the opportunity, brought his troops out of Kāthwāl and moving with great speed, launched a night-assault on them :

[*verses*]

Sher 'Alī Bhat and his soldiers displayed feats of valour, but he was slain by Shamsi Chak ; Naji Raina was captured by Ḥaidar Chak and brought to the village of Daksum. Most of the troops of Yūsuf Shāh joined Ḥaidar Chak.

Ḥaidar Chak defeated

Under these circumstances, Yūsuf Shāh was compelled to come out of the city. The vanguard of his army got engaged in a battle with Ḥaidar Chak, Shamsi Chak, Ibeh Khān and others at the aforesaid village. But since his opponents had established strongholds in the narrow mountain gorges, many of Yūsuf Shāh's soldiers were wounded and, as such, forced to retrace their steps and rejoin the main body of the force advancing from the rear. But the sons of Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Shāh, namely Shāh Abu'l-Mu'ālī, Ibrāhīm

Khān and others, held on to their positions extending support to Mīrzā Ya'qūb so that he did not join the fleeing troops and return to his father. Holding on fast to their position, their fifteen or sixteen warriors fought heroically against a large number of their opponents. Some of the fleeing soldiers carried baseless and disturbing rumours about Mīrzā Ya'qūb and the sons of Mīrān Sayyid to Yūsuf Shāh which distressed and disheartened him so much that he suspended his advance for a few days and ordered a halt to his troops and camp followers. But then Mīrān Sayyid Ḥusain Khān, the son of Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Khān, prompted him to resume the onward march, and he reached the battlefield. Before Yūsuf Shāh's arrival, Ḥaidar Chak and his troops had come out of narrow mountain gorges, and a fierce battle took place between him and the sons of Sayyid Mīrān. Like an immovable mountain, the valiant Sayyids stuck to their positions and did not budge even an inch from there.

[*verses*]

As God willed it, Ḥaidar Chak found himself in a depressing situation, dismounted from his horse and ran away to hide himself in a mountain gorge. The Sayyids raised high the banner of their victory and chased the fleeing enemy whose soldiers fell victims to their lashing swords.

Meanwhile, Yūsuf Shāh arrived with his army on the actual scene of the battle and witnessed the gallantry and bravery of the Sayyids. He eulogised Mīrān Sayyid Abu'l-Mu'ālī in loud terms. On the recommendation of the aforesaid Sayyid, he honoured most of his soldiers with befitting rewards and robes of honour. Then he returned to the capital of Kashmir.

Sometime later, Shamsi Chak, Ibeh Khān and others felt pangs of conscience in Ḥaidar Chak's company and, therefore, tried to establish links with Yūsuf Shāh to renew their old bonds of friendship.

[*verses*]

Mughals appear

Ḥaidar Chak, Yūsuf Lūnd, and 'Alī Khān Surigāma descended from the Kāthwāl mountains and headed towards the capital city of Lahore where they joined the services of Rājā Mān Singh.

It has already been recorded in the pages of this chronicle that, on account of Yūsuf Shāh's violations of his pledges and his dilatory tactics in connection with his services to Rājā Mān Singh, the Rājā had become displeased with him. This situation was further aggravated because his opponents joined Rājā Mān Singh.[11] The only person with whom he shared the 'secret'[12] and in whom he confided was Khwāja Qāsim, son of Khwāja Ḥaidar and a grandson of Khwāja Ḥājjī. He told him that "it was far removed from prudence and wisdom to feel secure against a cunning enemy."

[*verses*]

He, therefore, did not want that Ḥaidar Chak should get a chance of going to Rājā Mān Singh and further his aims.

Yūsuf's overtures

Khwāja Qāsim appreciated Yūsuf Shāh's approach. With exquisite presents and choicest gifts for the Rāja and his senior commanders, and accompanied by Khwāja Ghanī Kābulī, he [Qāsim] presented himself before the Rāja at Lahore. He waited until a suitable opportunity came his way to speak to the Rājā and his senior officers in a manner which maligned Ḥaidar Chak. The bard sings: "Listen not to the selfish; should you do so, you will only repent."[13]

Not being convinced that Khwāja Qāsim was not acting without some interest, the Rājā did not listen to his account. Instead, his effort of maligning Ḥaidar Chak only strengthened his (Mān Singh's) favourable opinion of Ḥaidar Chak.[14] Having been convinced that he could make no headway and that his mission had met with utter failure,

Khwāja Qāsim sought the permission of Rājā Mān Singh to leave his court.

Ya'qūb assesses situation

Khwāja Qāsim reported the words of Mān Singh to Yūsuf Shāh but with distortions and suggesting that his words could be taken as an indirect expression of support. Thereupon, Yūsuf Shāh conferred the title of Mīrzā upon him and invested him with the authority of administering this domain.[15]

[*verses*]

Mīrzā Ya'qūb, the son of Yūsuf, Shāh, was a man gifted with wisdom, sagacity, prudence, and understanding. He found that this man (Qāsim) crossed the limits of discretion in handling the affairs of the state and took recourse to flattering Yūsuf Shāh and giving him false reports to further his selfish interests. He marked that Qāsim did not speak what was in the interests of the state. Therefore Ya'qūb prostested against Mīrzā Qāsim's assertions and even reproached him in such a way that Mīrzā Qāsim felt offended. The two of them, therefore, became estranged.

Ya'qūb at Imperial Court

Meanwhile, the aforesaid Rājā despatched one of the trusted officials of his court namely Tīmūr Beg,[16] as his emissary to Yūsuf Shāh. By combining threats with favours, he expressed the purpose of his mission. Mīrzā Qāsim considered Tīmūr Beg's visit a good opportunity for getting rid of Ya'qūb. He, therefore, impressed upon Yūsuf Shāh that it would be highly desirable to send Ya'qūb to the imperial court along with Timūr Beg. Yūsuf Shāh accepted this selfish suggestion and, without caution and consideration, despatched Mīrzā Ya'qūb to the capital city of Lahore[17] along with the emissary.[18]

On arrival at the court of the aforesaid Raja, Mīrzā Ya'qūb duly observed the decorum and protocol of the court, and was then brought to the presence of the Emperor. He had been at the imperial court for only a short time

when, as God willed, the news of the death of Mīrzā Hakīm, the governor of Kabul reached the court. His Majesty, therefore, marched towards the lands of Kābulistān[19] with the intention of conquering it. At each station during this march where His Majesty halted, he asked Mīrzā Ya'qūb to summon his father Yūsuf Shāh. Ya'qūb sent despatches to his father from every halting station stating the course of events in the imperial camp. But on account of the villainy and wickedness of the aforesaid Khwāja, he did not act with farsightedness and paid no attention to the letters of his son. Disappointed by his father's failure to appear at the royal court, Mīrzā Ya'qūb felt the overwhelming weight of His Majesty's insistence and also the fear and gravity of the consequences of a defiant attitude. Keeping all these facts in view, he sought permission,[20] and from the village Bahlool (Pore) he marched out post-haste so that within a short time of three days and three nights, he brought himself to the presence of his venerable father.[21] But once again Khwāja Qāsim's inimical attitude towards him got revived:

[*verses*]

Mughal expedition

Before Ya'qūb rejoined his father, two envoys from Akbar, namely, Hakīm 'Alī[22] and Ṣāleh 'Āqil, had been sent to Yūsuf Shāh advising him to present himself at the imperial court. They were still on their way, when Ya'qūb fled[23] and came to his father. On account of this, the letter drafted by Yūsuf Shāh in the capital and sent to Akbar, containing expressions of regret, was not entertained by him. In this way, Mīrzā Ya'qūb's[24] detestable behaviour was almost a repetition of the defiant attitude adopted previously by his father ; it intensified His Majesty's anger and wrath.[25] Twenty-two nobles of the imperial court, such as Shāhrukh Mīrzā and Shāh Qulī, under the command of Rājā Bhagwān Dās, were entrusted with the task of conquering Kashmir. As the imperial troops were crossing Panbeh [*sic*] Drang,[26] [Yūsuf Shāh] released Muḥammad Bhat, whose mention has already been made in this chronicle, from prison and assigned him the task of guarding the city as well as his

household. 'Alam Sher Khān, who too had been put in prison at the time of Yūsuf's accession, was released to keep him company :

[*verses*]

At last, accompanied by top-ranking commanders and known fighters,[27] Yūsuf Shāh left the city and, in order to confront the imperial army, adopted a tortuous route and arrived at Gawarmeet. The very next morning of their encamping at the above-mentioned place, some of Yūsuf Shāh's troops got engaged in an encounter with the imperial soldiers, a large number of whom was slain on the battlefield and their severed heads brought to him.[28]

Negotiations begin

Keeping in view the saying, "Have consultations on matters," Yūsuf Shāh held consultations with Mīrzā Qāsim, who held the administrative authority over the domain. Their consultations pertained to the strategy to be adopted in putting an end to the menace of the Mughal incursion. Realizing that conciliation was the best course available under the given circumstances, Mīrzā Qāsim told him in secret that, since sustained resistence to the imperial troops was virtually impossible, the wise course would be to initiate negotiations. He further suggested to him that by making Rājā Bhagwān Dās their patron they could use his good office for gaining access to the imperial court. Acting on the saying that "The afiairs of the world progress through means and not through merit," some headway could be made in putting things in order with the help of the aforesaid mediator.

As a result of this thinking, Mīrzā Qāsim proceeded to the court of Rājā Bhagwān Dās and, after impressing upon him his sincerity of purpose, asked him what favours and considerations would be received by them if Yūsuf Shāh was brought to join his service. In order to see that his mission was crowned with success, the aforesaid Rājā agreed to enter into an understanding with Mīrzā Qāsim upon the condi-

tions laid down by him. He (Rājā) assured him of his adhering to his commitments by invoking his qualities of manliness; and, after putting the agreement in black and white, handed it over to him to be delivered to Yūsuf Shāh.[29] It was planned that Yūsuf Shāh would join the Rājā without delay and without consulting his sons :

[*verses*]

Yūsuf's plight

Misled by him [Mīrzā Qāsim], Yūsuf Shāh set out on his horse under the pretext of inspecting the advance columns of his army. Escorted by four to five horsemen, Yūsuf Shāh, after arriving at his advance post, bade farewell to his kingdom and regality and turned his horse towards the camp of the abovenamed Rājā. His counsellors, chiefs and sons tried their utmost to dissuade him from taking this risk, but to no avail.

Ya'qūb enthroned

Thus, without either taking sound counsel from an adviser or giving cool and considerate thought to the matter himself, Yūsuf Shāh took 'the' disastrous decision. Kashmiri nobles and commanders, especially the sons of Mīr Sayyid Mubārak Shāh, found it in the interest of the general public of that land that Mīrzā Ya'qūb should assume the reins of the kingdom in place of his father and resolved to ensure the security of their country. Hence, on the following day, Ya'qūb Shāh was installed on the throne of his father with the consent of Shamsi Chak, 'Alam Sher Khān and Shamsi Dooni. This development led to their hostility and confrontation with the imperial troops.

Mughal invasion

With the purpose of safeguarding Khawora route, Bābā Ṭālib Isfahānī[30] encamped there along with his contingent of troops. The only obstruction between them and the imperial army was the river at Panbeh Drang. The sagacious and mildly-disposed 'master' suggested to the imperial troops

that they should construct a strong bridge over the river so that they can cross to the other side and occupy the territories there with considerable ease. Usta Lolo, a person known for his art of flattery in that land, was the 'master' who put forth this suggestion. A strong and functional bridge was built over the river and most of the soldiers in the Mughal garrison, under the command of Shāhrukh Mīrzā Badakhshi, crossed it one by one and landed on the opposite bank.

Mughals under pressure

With this development the villagers and brave landlords [of Kashmir] were seized by fear of these brave soldiers; they withdrew but could not decide on any course of action. It so happened that one of the *zamīndārs* took courage and engaged a Mughal warrior in a fight and, with a single arrow-shot, he put an end to his life. He then snatched the fallen warrior's arms and robes under which he had concealed a scrip full of gold fastened to his loins. His clothes were colourfully rich. The booty whetted the appetite of Kashmiri soldiers for material gains and they fell upon the Mughal soldiers who had crossed the bridge one by one. They slew them on the spot and plundered their belongings.[31] After concluding this operation, they hewed down the bridge, rendering it unserviceable. Thereafter, they effected a total blockade of the imperial garrison which made them face acute scarcity of foodgrains and other provisions. The prices of these commodities soared so high that further increase was almost unimaginable :

[*verses*]

Skirmishes between the two sides continued under such hard conditions. The situation was further aggravated by natural calamities ; rain and snow, in addition to the extremely frightful scarcity of provisions, brought the imperial army to the brink of disaster. It was compelled to despatch 'Alī Akbar Shāh as an emissary to Mīrzā Ya'qūb Shāh,[32] appealing to him for immediate cessation of hostilities. The envoy stated that striking of coins and reading

of *khuṭba* would continue to be in the name of His Majesty in exactly the same manner as was done hitherto.[33] The emissary added that Yūsuf Shāh would bring his son Ya'qūb to the presence of His Majesty. Although Mīrzā Qāsim prevented Yūsuf Shāh from standing surety for Ya'qūb, his fatherly affection induced him to make the commitment. A letter of guarantee was drafted and passed on the Rājā Bhagwān Dās.

Bhagwān Dās' discomfiture

From the village of Bolyās, Rājā Bhagwān Dās carried him along to the capital city of Lahore. Marching in triumph and pageantry, Rājā Bhagwān Dās headed towards the court of His Majesty with Yūsuf Shāh.[34] Although Yūsuf Shāh showed utmost sincerity and faithfulness when he was brought to the imperial court, yet luck as well as the promises of Rājā Bhagwān Dās both deserted him; he remained in prison for two years and six months.[35] On noticing that his promise had been broken, Rājā Bhagwān Dās, under the dictates of his sense of honour, which is the distinctive quality of that race, drew his sharp-edged dagger from his belt and thrust it into his belly, which brought out his entrails in a lump. But the hour of death had not yet arrived for the Rājā: he recovered from the wound and was soon up and about.

'Alī Dār's rebellion

As already stated, Ya'qūb Shāh ascended the throne of Kashmir in the year A.H. 994 (A.D. 1585/86). This has been found in the chronagram *Zillu'llah*. The office of the Chief Vizir was assumed by 'Alī Dār. He was an amiable man but incapacitated by addiction to narcotics, and was unable to distinguish right from wrong or truth from falsehood, so much so that having conferred a certain *pargana* upon some *jāgīrdār* one morning, he re-allotted the same to another in the evening. When the two allottees staked claims to the same jāgīr and the matter was brought to his notice, he, forgetting his earlier orders, observed that the land in question was state-owned and had not been allotted

to anybody as a *jāgīr*. This state of maladministration increased chaos and confusion, bickerings and troubles, in the state day by day.

Under these circumstances, Ya'qūb Shāh considered it prudent to assign to Mīrān Sayyid Ḥusain Khān and Shams Dooni the task of ensuring the defence of the city of Kashmir. Himself, he proceeded along with the royal entourage to the village of Halehvaleh [*sic*] for solemnizing the marriage of his adopted son. He returned to the city after the marriage was performed. On reaching the village of Achwal,[36] he came to know that 'Alī Dār had been contemplating rebellion, and had managed to win over to his side some notable leaders like Shamsi Chak, 'Alam Sher Khān, Mīr Ḥasan Chādūra and others to overpower him during his move to the capital. But their attempts were foiled by the outnumbering and powerful troops of the Sulṭān.

The frustrated rebels headed towards Sayyid Ḥusain Khān and Shamsi Dooni to seek their cooperation either by coercion or by persuasion. But Ya'qūb Shāh came to know of this and forthwith set free one Muḥammad Mīr who had been thrown into prison at the time of his accesssion to the throne. Together with him, he headed towards the city of Kashmir (Srinagar) and entered into it a little before his opponents could. Minutes later, 'Alī Dār, along with his accomplices, appeared in the village of Zāldagar after destroying the bridges over the river in the city. On the other side, Ya'qūb Shāh took position on the Īdgāh *maidan*.

Battle of Sopor

Ya'qūb Shāh was greatly fond of 'Alī Dār and 'Alī Dār in turn relied whole-heartedly on his friendship. On that basis 'Alī Dār hastened to see him at Īdgāh, where he made certain suggestions to Ya'qūb Shāh which he thought suited his purpose. But the counsellors and advisers of Ya'qūb Shāh did not approve them and 'Alī Dār returned disappointed and crestfallen. He then sought the assistance of his associates and, in order to strengthen his own position, proceeded towards Sopor. He left 'Alam Sher Khān on this

side of Sopor called Mala Pora and himself encamped in the town proper along with his troops. After seven days and nights, he crossed the river at Mala Pora and was engaged in a fierce battle with 'Alam Sher Khān. The fighting was so fierce that, but for the timely help and protection given to him by friends and colleagues, 'Alam Sher would have been killed. With great difficulty they managed to bring him from the battlefield to a safer place and rowed him across the river to join Shamsi Chak at Sopor :

[*verses*]

Sopor captured

After capturing the town of Sopor, the commanders and nobles of Ya'qub Shāh entered the bazaar where fierce fighting took place with the soldiers of Shamsi Chak, who were ultimately overpowered. Since the bridge was very narrow in its width, and the number of fleeing troops was large, in the melee that followed some of the soldiers fell into the river and some others managed to cross over in safety.

Maintaining his presence of mind, Shamsi Chak left the town along with his soldiers and headed towards the city. Ya'qūb Shāh sent Abu'l-Ma'ālī, the son of Mīrān Sayyid, in his pursuit and himself, together with Yūsuf Khān, Ibeh Khān and Sayyid Ḥusain Khān made a lightening dash from Sopor and arrived in the city before Shamsi Chak could be there. On learning about this development, he, 'Alam Sher Khān and their allies did not think it advisable to enter the city. Harassed by the enemy's pursuit, 'Alam Sher Khān, in confusion, separated himself from Shamsi Chak and took to Kitchāma mountains. Mīr Ḥasan Chādūra escaped to Shamhāl village and 'Alī Dār sought refuge with the landlords of Bartal.[37]

Deserted by his associates, Shamsi Chak was compelled by circumstances to hide himself in the shrine of Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī. His associates and soldiers left him in the lurch :

[*verses*]

On being informed about the latest position, Ya'qūb Shāh rode to the shrine, captured Shamsi Chak, and put him in the custody of Ibeh Khān, son of Abdāl Khān.

No doubt Shamsi Chak was a shrewd and resourceful man, but when the pre-ordained misfortune befell him, his innate sagacity was overshadowed by the veil of imprudence and his intelligence deserted him. He abandoned his horse and took refuge in the house of the inmates of the shrine :

[*verses*]

Qāḍī Mūsā executed

After the rebellion was quelled and order was restored in the state, the office of the Chief Vizir was assigned to Muḥammad Bhat. Out of malice and ill-will, some people had been alleging that it was Qāḍī Mūsā who had caused a rupture in the otherwise cordial relations between Shamsi Chak and Ya'qūb Shāh. It was further alleged that at the time of the Mughal incursion into Kashmir, headed by Rājā Bhagwān Dās, Yūsuf Shāh had requested Kashmiri chiefs to collect arms and equipment [to resist the alien troops], but the Qāḍī had obstructed the supply of these necessary materials. The fact was that the Qāḍī was popular and wielded considerable influence among the people.[38] The reason for his popularity was that he had brought to completion the roofing of the *Jāme'* mosque in Kashmir in one year, which Kashmiri nobles had failed to do. But even in matters of religion and the sect to which he belonged, such malicious things about him were given publicity as were unimaginable in a person of his standing. In this way the malevolent strove every nerve to see the Qāḍī executed, and he was ultimately put to the sword. It goes without saying that had that group of calumniators, with all the power at their disposal, chosen to intercede for him, as the sons of Mirān Sayyid Mubārak Shāh had done earlier, to save him from the impending fate, their good record would have remained imprinted in the history of the world to the day of the last judgement :[39]

Repercussions

This event caused considerable unrest and agitation among the nobles and the local people of Kashmir, and almost wrecked the very foundation of Ya'qūb Shāh's regime.[40]

Under the damaging influence of Mullā Ḥasan Aswad and others, he dismissed the wise and sagacious Muḥammad Bhat from the ministry and threw him into prison. This act deepened the crisis within the country. The high post of the Chief Vizir passed into the hands of the incompetent Nāzuk Bhat. He was neither wise nor shrewd and could not resolve the crisis caused by the killing of the Qāḍī. He scarcely had any knowledge of the plight of ordinary people. Eventually the soldiers of several regions got dissatisfied with their patrons and were compelled by circumstances to desert them :

[*verses*]

Qāsim Khān's expedition

Faced with the disorder which prevailed in that land, the nobles and men of consequence in those days reported the matter in full detail at the imperial court.[41] His Imperial Majesty honoured a group of warriors by giving them royal robes and gifts and they became a part of the large army raised and despatched for the conquest of Kashmir under the command of Qāsim Khān Mir Bahr, and also included several high-ranking warriors who were entrusted with responsible jobs. Shaykh Ya'qūb, "the perfect in visage and in method" and Ḥaidar Chak were also given permission and directed to accompany Qāsim Khān Mīr Bahr as his guides from station to station on his way to Kashmir. They were given directions to show consideration and favour to all people who came across their way so that they were not scared or coerced into abandoning their hearths and homes.

When this news was brought to Ya'qūb Shāh, he placed the city under the command of Nāzuk Bhat's brother and himself came out of it. Sayyid Saif Khān Baihaqī[42] procured robes, horses, and equipment from Nāzuk Bhat's

brother[13] and joined 'Alam Sher Khān at the village of Kitchāma.[44] Both of them joined hands and, with the intention of restoring order, turned towards the city.

On reaching Hirpur, Ya'qūb Shāh took the precautionary measure of deploying commanders like Yūsuf Khān, son of Ḥusain Shāh, Ibeh Khān, son of Abdāl Khān, Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Mīrān Sayyid Mubārak Shāh, and others to ensure the safety of Kenchil [*sic*] route, before the expected arrival of imperial troops.

Some of the soldiers of Ya'qūb Shāh found that there was disunity in his camp; therefore, they joined together and, after arresting Fatḥ 'Alī known by the title Nowrang Khān, proceeded towards the imperial army. Bahrām Nāyak, Ismā'īl Nāyak and Shanki Charlu, who had been sent to safeguard the Kenchil [*sic*] route joined the imperial army. The position of the defectors could best be explained by the idiom, "between the devil and the deep sea."

Yūsuf Khān, son of Ḥusain Shāh. Ibeh Khān, son of Abdāl Khān, and Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Mīrān Sayyid, retraced their steps and joined Ya'qūb Shāh. Frustration overwhelmed Ya'qūb Shāh and his troops were in disarray at this critical juncture. At last, Mīrān Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī thought it expedient to release Shamsi Chak and Muḥammad Bhat from prison.[45] He proposed fresh agreements and understanding with them and also suggested necessary reforms in Ya'qūb Shāh's army by upgrading the ranks of soldiers. The proposal was well received and highly appreciated by Ya'qūb Shāh. Some of his nobles, who had been recently admitted to superior social rank, outwardly endorsed his decision of releasing the two detenues, but, in truth, they were not happy about it. They misled Ya'qūb Shah by advising him to proceed towards Chitar [*sic*] mountains early next morning without further delay or deliberation :

[*verses*]

Driven by circumstances, the commanders and soldiers of his army got an opportunity to run away in different directions.

Ṣarfī's mission

A report stating that utter confusion prevailed in the army of Ya'qūb Shāh was brought to the Emperor. He despatched to that land Shaykh Ya'qūb "the perfect in visage and method,"[46] Mir Ṣibī and Shanki Jarariyeh (Charareh ?) Kashmiri with a strong force to bring relief and comfort to people in those lands.[47] They were directed to promulgate in the length and breadth of that realm the orders and ordinances of His Majesty's deputies.

On reaching the locality of Hastīwanj,[48] the Mughal contingent was attacked by a large group of local troops, who inflicted a number of casualties on them. Mīr Ṣibī was wounded and both Shaykh Ya'qūb and Shanker Jarariyeh [*sic*] were captured and were not subjected to torture or harsh treatment, for the reason that the former was a man of learning and the latter a blood relation of Ḥasan Chak [*sic*]. They were pardoned and set free :

[*verses*]

Meanwhile Shamsi Chak managed to unite with himself veterans such as Sayyid Ḥasan Khān Baihaqī, Ḥusain Khān, son of Ibeh Shāh 'Alam Sher Khān, Muḥammad Bhat and almost all the soldiers who had left Ya'qūb's service and had been scattered all over the land. They took position atop Kunandehbal[49] hills and soon got engaged in skirmishes with the imperial troops :

[*verses*]

Muḥammad Chak, son of Naji [*sic*] Chak, was a renowned warrior of Kashmir. Like a brave soldier, he took the lead and displayed feats of valour on the battlefield. He got locked in a duel with a soldier of the opposing side; they held each other fast by the belt. Then Ghakkar soldier, Jalāl Khān by name, came on galloping to the pit where the two warriors were struggling to overpower each other. This horseman put an end to the life of Muḥammad Chak. The event made Zafar Khān Nāyak's blood boil; he made a lightening move and charged at the adversary of Muḥammad

Chak in the manner of a brave and valiant soldier. But he fell a victim to the musket shot of Qanbar 'Alī, the attendant of Mīrzā Hakīm. At that time this Qanbar 'Alī was enlisted in the staff of the imperial artillery. This is how Zafar Khān met with his death. Despite their best efforts, Kashmiri commanders and nobles met with defeat and ran helter skelter.

Mughal Victory

The triumphant and victorious Mughal troops occupied the Hastīwanj hill. In A.H. 994 (A.D. 1585), Nawwāb Qāsim Khān entered the city at the head of his victorious army. Ḥaidar was suspected of fomenting trouble and, therefore, was thrown into prison. Citizens, soldiers, as well as the general masses of Kashmir assessed the situation, and expressed regret and repentance over their base deeds and acts of perfidy towards earlier (Mughal) officials. Out of fear and dread, they withdrew into obscurity.

The news of Ḥaidar Chak's arrest was brought to Ya'qūb Shāh. Without loss of time, he set out along with his troops from Kashmir in full pageantry and encamped at Tserehwani. He rallied round him all those militant people who had hitherto been in a state of disarray and disunity, and provoked them to rise and fight the Mughals.

When this frightful news reached Qāsim Khān, he deputed Mubārak Khān Ghakkar along with some of his reputed warriors to support him. When this contingent was on its way to Ya'qūb's camp, the counsellors and the advisers of Ya'qūb Shāh's army decided that before the arrival of the enemy on the scene they should launch a night-assault on Qāsim Khān in the city itself. They hoped that this strategy would yield satisfactory results.

Acting on this decision, Ya'qūb's soldiers made a night-assault on Qāsim Khān :

[*verses*]

In the course of the assault, his opponents had taken a firm resolve to see him killed. Therefore they did not appear at their appointed places [during the night-assault].

The reason was that all of them were unhappy with his rule.

After analysing the course of events Ya'qūb Shāh came to a definite conclusion that friendship of the people could not be relied upon ; the love of fellow beings was unsteady. In a state of helplessness he sealed his lips and withdrew silently from the locality of Zāldagar to Tsereh-Wudar :

[*verses*]

The bravest of the Baihaqī Sayyids, Mirān Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī, fearlessly came to the appointed place and made awe-inspiring assaults on the enemy, setting on fire the gateway of the mansion of Yūsuf Shāh, presently under the occupation of Qāsim Khān and his numerous troops. Some of the factional leaders like Mīr Ḥasan Chārū (Chādūra ?), depending on and confident of the remarkable bravery and indomitable courage of Shāh Abu'l-Ma'āli, cooperated with one another and launched powerful attacks in the fashion of war veterans and disallowed the opponents any advantage of closing in. Meanwhile Ḥaidār Chak, who had been put into prison by Qāsim Khān's orders was hastily executed.

[*verses*]

Abu'l-Ma'ālī attacks

When the dark night turned into a kind of bright day by the leaping flames of fire, crowds of people rushed out from every lane and street and, laying their hands on sticks, stones, brickbats, etc., attacked and wounded the Mughal soldiers. Royal treasure which remained in the custody of 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Māmurī had been deposited in the same place. Kashmiri soldiers assisted by the above-mentioned Mīrān Sayyid rushed forth to plunder it. A fierce and bloody battle took place between the Mughals and the above-mentioned Amīr. Qāsim Khān saw the extraordinary and remarkable valour of Kashmiri warriors and retired temporarily to a more secure place by the lake side, and did not extend help and assistance to Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Māmurī. He beheld that leader of the redoubtable Sayyids (Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī), whose Hashimite descent needs no introduc-

tion, as a man of incredible valour, who stood like a solid rock on the battlefield, and led a fierce fight against the Mughal troops. A large number of soldiers on either side was wounded and badly mauled.

Meanwhile the people of this land learnt that Pāyandeh Qazzāq, a warrior of the imperial camp, had raised a contingent of soldiers to reinforce the group guarding the treasury. Learning of their arrival, the Kashmiri soldiers suspended their attack on Mīr Abdu'r-Razzāq, and turned to fight the supporting contingent. Pāyandeh Qazzāq was a renowned and experienced warrior, and obviously it was no mean task to face him on the field of action :

[*verses*]

No warrior of this land could muster courage to come out on the pit to challenge him ; however, 'Alī Mīr Bilāw [*sic*] took the lead in this. Issuing forth from his ranks he struck a blow with his sword at the Mughal warrior. But that brave man, displaying his manly power and courage, dodged the thrust. Then on the point of his lance he lifted 'Alī Mīr up from his saddle and hurled him on the ground. People who witnessed the alacrity and bravery of this warrior loudly warned that none should hazard a combat with him, for heroes like Rustam and Sām would be amazed at the sight of his might and skill.

Mirān Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī too witnessed his bravery and valour. Without any hesitation and taking it as a challenge to his sense of honour, he began his attack on him. Soldiers and onlookers watched the two warriors in action, Pāyandeh Qazzāq took the lead and struck a terrible blow of his lance at the Sayyid. But with God's help, he successfully dodged the thrust. In return, he dealt him a deadly blow of his sharp-edged sword, which sent him down reeling on the heap of dust, putting an end to his life.

Abu'l-Ma'ālī withdraws

Pāyandeh Qazzāq's warriors witnessed the bravery of the Sayyid and, therefore, avoiding a battle, withdrew to the main body of their troops. [Later on] the imperial troops

came out like ants and locusts to attack the Kashmiri soldiers. About seventy to eighty soldiers encircled Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī and wanted to capture him alive. He brought his horse into quick action and managed to scare them away by shooting arrows at them :

[*verses*]

Had the warriors of this land also come out and engaged the enemy with as much intrepidity as the Baihaqī Sayyids did, God would have certainly rewarded them with victory. But as the saying goes, "the master-key to the treasures of climes lies in God's own coffers ; none has ever opened it with the sheer force of arms." Since God's will was not in their favour, they were not rewarded with victory.

Qāsim Khān's plans

After this event, Nawwāb Qāsim Khān assigned Mubārak Khān Ghakkar the duty of dealing with Shamsi Chak, Sayyid Ḥusain Khān Baihaqī and Shamsi Dooni who were in the town of Sopor. Mubārak Khān's troops came out of the city and halted at the village Denwārī, where Shamsi Chak, in cooperation with Sayyid Ḥusain Khān Baihaqī, Shamsi Dooni and others made a night-assault on them. The result was a battle in which many people got killed. But, because they had no divine help, they suffered a defeat and withdrew to the town of Sopor. On account of bitter cold, they chose to retire to Karnāv mountains.

Ya'qūb Shāh, along with his brothren, proceeded to Kāthwār (Kishtwār) ranges and Mīrān Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī left for Ludov in the Nāyak ranges. On account of severe cold, the rest of the local soldiers found shelter in the house of the landlords of this country and did not enter the services of the imperial army ;

Yūsuf Khān, son of Ḥusain Shāh, and Ḥusain Khān, son of Ibeh Shāh, joined the imperial army after obtaining some firm commitment from Nawwāb Qāsim Khān. After they joined, Nawwāb Qāsim Khān confiscated such of the

jāgīrs as had been in possession of the Kashmiri soldiers. Consequently, the soldiers of this land felt dispirited; and, taking advantage of winter, they deserted the imperial army and dispersed in different quarters.

After the winter was over, Nawwāb Qāsim Khān considered it expedient to send Miran Sayyid Mubārak Shāh, Bābā Khalīlu'llah, and Bābā Mehdī, Ḥusain Shāh, son of Yūsuf Khān, to the imperial capital along with Khanjar Beg. Sayyid Mubārak Shāh had totally renounced worldly affairs and gone into seclusion for meditation and prayers. Bābā Khalilu'llah and Bābā Mehdī were saintly persons unique in their qualities of celibacy and resignation to the Divine Will, and Ḥusain Shāh held the title *Khān-i-thāī*. The purpose in sending them to the capital was to put an end to disruption and chaos in this land, for all times to come.

Decisive battle

The party escorted by Khanjar Beg appeared in the presence of His Imperial Majesty at a time when the winter also came to an end. The Kashmiri soldiers, who had hitherto been lying low, came out of their hideouts and resumed hostilities against the imperial troops. Ya'qūb Shāh, together with his brother, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm and Ibeh Khān, son of Abdal Khān, and the *zamindārs* of Bring and Chitar [*sic*] issued forth from Katwar and encamped at the village of Dagwan.[50] Mīrān Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī, Ibrāhīm Khān, Naji Raina, the *Zamīndār* Bartal, along with his sons, Bahrām Nāyak and Aḥmad Nāyak, *Zamīndārs* of Nāgām(a), Yūsuf Shee, *Zamīndār* of Kother,[51] and others came out of Ludov and in the ranges of Naji Raina[52] [*sic*], set up their headquarters at Ghazi Nari. Shamsi Chak, in alliance with Shamsi Dooni, the *Zamīndār* of Kamarāj, descended from Karnāv mountains and they established their stronghold in the Kamarāj mountains.

When this frightening news reached Nawwāb Qāsim Khān, he deputed Jalāl Khān Ghakkar and Mubārak Khān Ghakkar to fight Mīrān Sayyid and Shamsi Chak, respectively. Himself he came out of the city and arrayed his

troops near the village of Ghasu. In the battle fought between Ya'qūb Shāh and the Mughals, Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān,[53] along with many other soldiers of the imperial army, fell slain in the battlefield.[54]

Observing the turn of the tide, Nawwāb Qāsim Khān resorted to dilatory tactics and returned to the city. He then recalled Jalāl Khān and Mubārak Khān Ghakkar from their posts to reinforce his troops and strengthen his position.

Ya'qūb Shāh moved from Ghasu[55] [*sic*] and appeared on the Suleymān mountain. He despatched Ibeh Khān, son of Abdāl Khān, to meet and bring Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī to his presance. Mīrān Sayyid's joining Ya'qūb Shāh added to his prestige and strength and he felt glorified. Shamsi Chak and Shamsi Dooni, both of whom had hitherto declined to show allegiance to Ya'qūb Shāh, were also drawn to make overtures to him when they heard that a compromise had been reached between him and Mīrān Sayyid Abu'l-Ma'ālī. They crossed the river and camped at the village Hanjeek.

Qāsim confronted

When Nawwāb Qāsim saw that Kashmiri troops were gathering in large numbers, he took all necessary measures to ensure the security of the fort[56] [there]. Each day witnessed renewed fighting between the Kashmiri soldiers and the Mughals which continued for two and a half months.[57]

The aforesaid Nawwāb ultimately realized that the signs of slackness and weariness in the imperial army had become fairly visible. He was compelled by circumstances to send through his emissary a message to the imperial court that he was faced with a situation of hardships and shortages of provisions. On receiving this report, His Imperial Majesty sought the counsel of senior government officials for providing relief to his troops in Kashmir. Their unanimous opinion was that suppression of the uprising in Kashmir could be possible only through the instrumentality of Sayyid Mubārak Shāh.

Mubārak dies

His Imperial Majesty extended royal favours to the aforesaid Sayyid and ordered that he should proceed to Kashmir in the company of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān and others and see to it that the insurgents in Kashmir were subdued. His Imperial Majesty showed extraordinary interest in this mission and insisted on Mīrān Sayyid to undertake it, but he indicated his reluctance to do so on one pretext or the other. This earned him the displeasure of His Majesty who then ordered that he should proceed to Bengal to join Shahbāz Khān Kambū. A year later, when this Shahbāz Khān returned to pay a courtesy call at the Imperial Court and reached Ferozabad, the call from the unknown to return came to Mīrān Sayyid and he had no alternative but to respond. The chronogram containing the date of his death has been recorded in these verses :

[*verses*]

He was survived by three sons, namely, Mīrān Sayyid Ḥusain Khān, Mīrān Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī and Mīrān Sayyid Ibrāhīm Khān. A mention of them has already been made in the earlier pages and, God willing, more about them shall follow.

Qāṣīm Khān liquidated

When Mīrān Sayyid refused to accept the assignment of His Majesty, Nawwāb Qāsim Khān became arrogant and high-handed towards Kashmiri commanders. This news was brought to His Majesty, who deputed Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān to govern Kashmir with the help of Bābā Khalīu'llah and Muḥammad Bhat. Muḥammad Bhat was a handsome person who was gifted with a noble disposition and a suave manner. People in those lands considered his appearance on the scene as nothing short of a boon. Through his efforts Lohar Chak, son of Bahrām Chak, and Ismā'īl Nāyak joined Yūsuf Khān while he was still on his way. The imperial troops entered the city without facing any resistance.

Resistance

On learning of this development, Ya'qūb Shāh, accompanied by Mīrān Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī, Ibeh Khān, son of Abdāl Khān, and others moved to set up his headquarters in Kathwar mountains, while Shamsi Chak, assisted by Shamsi Dooni and others, encamped in Poonch.

In the year A.H. 995 (A.D. 1586/87, Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān occupied the seat of authority of this country, and with that Nawwāb Qāsim Khān was forced to proceed towards the imperial court along with some Kashmiri commanders, such as 'Alam Sher Khān.

The sagacious Muḥammad Mīr (?) Bhat soothed and encouraged the rank and file of the Kashmiri troops by providing each one of them with a *jāgīr* commensurate with his rank. In this way, he brought them under his control and subordination, and induced them to take up arms against Ya'qūb Shāh and Mīrān Sayyid to an unimaginable extent.

Shamsi Chak's insurgence

With the onset of spring, Shamsi Chak and Shamsi Dooni came out of their dwelling places and began to fan the flames of chaos and disorder in Kashmir. Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, taking notice of these developments, despatched Muḥammad Bhat and Sayyid Bahāu'd-Dīn and Kashmiri troops to deal with them. The aforesaid Sayyid marched his troops to the village of Nasu [*sic*] in Biru *pargana*. But Shamsi Chak and Shamsi Dooni took the initiative and, exhibiting remarkable bravery, made a night-assault on them in which Kashmiri soldiers [of Muḥammad Bhat] suffered severe reverses. On coming close to the tent of Mīr Sayyid Bahāu'd-Dīn, one of the brothers of the Sayyid dashed out of his tent barefooted and with his sword struck a blow on his enemy's horse, but only to slit the reins. The rider was rendered powerless but the horse in a bid to return to its stable, bore him away from that dangerous pit to the contiguous lands of Poonch. In this battle Kashmiri soldiers indulged in a large scale killing of each other. Shamsi Chak's troops withdrew to Poonch.

Muḥammad Bhat becomes vain

Muḥammad Mīr (?) Bhat came to Mīrzā Sayyid Yūsuf Khān along with the imperial troops. [The sentence after this is incomplete in the text and has not been translated.] On his advice, Mīrzā Sayyid Yūsuf Khān honoured each Kashmiri soldier with a befitting reward and induced them to fight against Ya'qūb Shāh.

Finding that the strategy of putting Shamsi Chak's soldiers to rout had worked well, Muḥammad Mīr (?) Bhat lost his head and began to make boastful claims. Ya'qūb Shāh and Mīrān Sayyid Abu'l-Ma'ālī came to know of Muḥammad Mīr (?) Bhat's vain utterances. It challenged their sense of honour and, dashing forth from Kāthwār mountains, they encamped at the village of Panjyārī (Penzyari) in Dachhanpara *pargana*. Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān received the news of their movement. He directed Muḥammad Bhat and Hājjī Mīrak, a renowned noble of his army, to lead a strong and well-equipped force to confront the enemy. A large number of horses was placed at their disposal; in addition to this, robes of honour and substantial amounts of cash were also given to them.

Muḥammad Bhat, accompanied by Hājjī Mīrak, took to guile and treachery and sent them conciliatory messages, completely disregarding his previous acquaintance with them. He hoped to take them unawares and, using all the means at his disposal, tried to make them his captives :

[*verses*]

Some of the warriors [of Ya'qūb Shāh] were taken in by his soft and conciliatory words and could not decide whether to join him or not. But Mīrān Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī could read the writing on the wall. However, he responded to his overtures in an equally soft tone, using the sweetest of phrases. At the same time, he held consultations about how the impending serious threat could be warded off. His aids and commanders unanimously agreed to trust his authority, after the true spirit of the verse that "what you deem right is also right for us.".[58]

Fighting breaks out

It was Mīrān Sayyid's considered opinion that a night halt was certainly fraught with the danger of their being made prisoners the next morning. He, therefore, resolved to trust in Providence and make a quick assault on the enemy :

[*verses*]

"Should the adventure succeed, our objective will be realized. If it does not, the story of our bravery will get imprinted on the book of the world."

Accepting this advice, Ya'qūb Shāh and his group of soldiers numbering nearly five hundred girded their loins and made a charge on the imperial army. On coming closer, they stopped for a while to assess the enemy's strength. By late afternoon, when about one-fourth of the day still left. they clashed with the vanguard of the imperial army led by Muḥammad Mīr. In this fighting they displayed feats of extraordinary bravery. Their attack was so fierce that Muḥammad Mīr got unnerved and ran away from the battlefield along with his soldiers and joined the imperial army. In the course of fighting, Mīrān Sayyid Ibrāhīm Khān was wounded and fell from his horse. This incident diverted the attention of some of the commanders away from the battle for some time. But the sudden appearance of clouds on the sky which brought torrential rains as had never been witnessed before, led to suspension in fighting. Soldiers on either side retired to their camps or lodgings. Muḥammad Bhat levelled accusations against his troops and criticised them, and waited at his camp for two days.

Acting upon the silly advice of some incompetent persons, Ya'qūb Shāh moved away from his present position towards the *pargana* of Ular, with the purpose of raising troops. In the course of this shift in tactics, some of his soldiers, perhaps out of fear of the imperial army, deserted him and defected to Muḥammad Mīr. The remaining soldiers crossed the Lank Nay and arrived in the vicinity of

the *pargana* of Ular at the village Nāristān to camp on the heights of the lofty mountain [of Naristan].

Abu'l-Ma'ālī captured

As against this, Muḥammad Bhat, commanding a very large number of troops, took position on the slopes of the mountain of Nāristān. Fighting broke out in the early hours of the morning. Since the number of the imperial troops was very large and Ya'qūb Shāh had only a handful of troops at his disposal, it became obvious to him that resistance was futile as well as impossible. Ya'qūb Shāh, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm and Ibeh Khān managed to draw themselves away from that deadly place by their superb feats of archery and proceeded towards the mountains of Kāthwār. Mīrān Sayyid Abu'l-Ma'ālī held on obdurately to his position along with a small number of his men, fighting with their back to the wall.

The imperial troops, on noticing that there were not many soldiers with Mīrān Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī, issued forth in groups from the top and the slopes of that mountain. Their strategy was to block the pathways. They gave them a hot pursuit up to the village Tsrār and people came out in multitudes and surrounded Mīrān Sayyid. At last he was made a captive and brought before Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān. Although on that day also he was unmistakably valorous and heroic, yet, since fate was not in his favour, he could not escape to a safe place :

[*verses*]

Abul'-Ma'ālī treated well

The aforesaid Mīrān Sayyid held a distinguished place among the warriors of this land because of his remarkable bravery and heroism. Besides, he was gifted with the qualities of honesty and integrity. Consequently, Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān considered the matter of his captivity as one of singular importance. He fully observed the established norms of respect and courtesy and, as a mark of due consideration to his dignity, took off his gorgeous gown—a gift from the Emperor—and put it on the shoulders of Mīrān Sayyid.

Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān took care that not even the slightest reference was made to the events which had occured before this. A lodge was reserved for his dwelling.

Treatment of Kashmiri Commanders

Shamsi Chak and Shamsi Dooni came to know of these developments. They approached Sayyid Bahāu'd-Dīn for rapproachment and disposal of their cases. The Sayyid, gifted with prudence as he was, assuaged their fears by extending firm promises of his effective intervention in their case. In the course of his talk with Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, he expressly mentioned to him the well-known principle of diplomacy that a formidable enemy should be won over by stratagem and his enmity neutralized by munificence :

[*verses*]

His clear suggestion to him was that Shamsi Chak and Shamsi Dooni be treated cordially so that they could be assured of their safety and security ; it would result in their agreeing to enter the imperial service by presenting themselves before Mīrzā Yūsuf.

Mīrzā Yūsuf took his advice and promised to act in full conformity with it. Consequently, after securing fresh and reaffirmed commitments from him, Sayyid Bahāu'd-Dīn brought them to the presence of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān who, in turn, granted them funds, provided them with horses and, in the company of Sayyid Bahāu'd-Dīn, sent them out of their native land to the presence of His Majesty :

[*verses*]

His Majesty was disposed to deal leniently with them and treat them with kindness because they were foreigners. He allowed to each of them a rank (*manṣab*) commensurate with his status. As a result of the insinuations [of some malicious persons] and summons from Prince Salīm, Ibeh Khān, son of Abdāl Khān, a close associate of Ya'qūb Shāh, was made to part company with him. He came to Kashmir for a meeting with Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān and then brought himself to the presence of Prince Salīm.[59]

Subsequent to these events, Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān despatched Sayyid Ḥusain Khān Baihaqī, 'Alī Dār, Lohar Chak, son of Daulat Chak, Shamsi Chak, son of Lohar Chak, Ismā'īl Dooni, and others to the imperial capital as prisoners under military escort. His Majesty bestowed upon each a rank commensurate with his status. Some of them were granted higher ranks, while others had to rest content with the *aḥādī* rank.

Yūsuf Khān's malice

Soon after, Bahrām Nāyak, along with his sons, was poisoned. Saif Khān Baihaqī, 'Alī Khān of Dachhinpāra, Ibrāhīm called Ibeh Shetān, the brother of Ḥaidar Chak, were deprived of their eyesight under various pretexts. Lohar Chak Qūrchī was sentenced to death.

Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān was greatly fascinated by the scenic beauty and invigorating climate of Kashmir. As a result, he began to implicate the nobles of that land in false and fabricated cases, and in this way found pretexts to do away with a few of them every day.[60]

When the affairs of the lands of Kashmir came to be shaped in accordance with the predetermined policy of the administration and a report analysing this situation was submitted to the Emperor,[61] the latter decided to make pleasure-trip to Kashmir by way of *tamāshā*. This land was honoured by the royal visit.[62] Ya'qūb Shāh, who was living in peace, pleasure and happiness along with his family at Kāthwār, without being disturbed by malicious persons, desired to enter the service of His Majesty. He was able to do so through the good offices of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, after making him agree to certain commitments and conditions and then came to the presence of the Emperor.

Mīrzā Yūsuf's intrigue

After this, the Emperor proceeded to Kabul and ordered Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān to accompany him, leaving behind his brother Shāh Bāqer in his place. Ustā Lolo, who was notorious for his villainy, was prompted by Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān

to encourage Shāh Bāqer to place Mīrān Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī, 'Alam Sher Khān, Lohar Chak and several others under detention till the return of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān from Kabul, with the purpose of foiling attempts at creating disorder and disruption in the state :

[*verses*]

Acting upon the counsel of that depraved person, he got the above-mentioned persons imprisoned. A despatch was sent to the Emperor stating that Mīrān Sayyid Abu'l-Ma'ālī, 'Alam Sher Khān, Lohar Chak, Bahādur Khān and others were a source of disorder in Kashmir and, in order to deal effectively with the menace, it would be judicious to ask Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān to assume [rather resume] the governing authority of these lands as early as possible, otherwise Kashmir would be lost to the empire. On receiving this report, His Majesty forthwith permitted Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān to leave the imperial headquarters. Yūsuf Khān found development conducive to his larger interests and headed towards Kashmir in great hurry. Shortly after arriving in Kashmir, he released Mīrān Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī from prison on the security furnished by Muḥammad Mīr, and sent him away to join the service of Rājā Mān Singh. 'Alam Sher Khān, Lohar Chak, Bahādur Khān, Lohar Chak, Bahādur Khān and others were sent to the Imperial Court.[63]

Ustā Lolo's perfidy

Since most of the Kashmiri commanders were scattered and banished from the land, disorder and insurgence were eliminated totally. Therefore, Muḥammad Mīr could not enjoy the confidence and respect of Mīrzā Yūsuf as he did earlier. In particular, the garrulous and glib-tongued Ustā Lolo, the prominent businessman of that land, because of his innate wickedness and his habit of fault-finding and selfishness, succeeded in vitiating Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān's impression about him :

[*verses*]

It was through this art of flattery and sycophancy that he made himself known to the Emperor who afterwards

summoned him to his presence. His Majesty made detailed enquiries about all the happenings in Kashmir from him. In response to them, Ustā Lolo told him the stories of (Kashmir's) past, present and future[64] (?) kings in the form of a narrative, which made a good impression on the Emperor. Consequently, Ustā Lolo's prestige and stature increased day by day, so much so that the title *Nādirū'l-'Aṣr* meaning "the rarity of the age" was conferred upon him. Out of their innate nobility, Mīrzā Ya'qūb Khān and Mḥammad Mīr had confided in that base and malicious person. Taking him as one of their friends "the veil of duality between them had been lifted." Thinking that his knowledge of their affairs could help him in eliciting spiecial favours from the Emperor, he reported to him about their affairs as well as true and false accounts of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān's excesses in such an effective manner that His Majesty got annoyed with Mīrzā Yūsuf :[65]

[*verses*]

(Keeping company with a base person is like carrying a venemous snake under your arm).

Prudence and sagacity demand that we act upon this principle so that we are safe against the treachery of a foe in a friend's garb.

Muḥammad Mīr summoned

In the course of these events, Shāh Mīrzā, the son of Mīr Badla, left for heavenly abode. His miraculous spiritual powers were known to people in these lands. He enjoyed full confidence of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān and had been very close to him. He did everything possible to gain the friendship and affection of Muḥammad Mīr. His death has been recorded in the chronogram *Shāh Mīrzā maqbūl-i dargāh-i ilāh*.

Bābā Khalil, who had acted as a surety to Muḥammad Mīr, too abandoned the prison house of this world. The chronogram *Khalīlu'r-Raḥmān* gives the date of his death. These events led to a decline in the prestige of Muḥammad

Mīr. Ustā Lolo, the arch sycophant of his day, realized the extent of disintegration which Bābā Khalīl's death was likely to cause to the government of Mīr Muḥammad. He secretly reported to the Emperor that it was Bābā Khalīlu'llah who had exercised a restraining influence over Muḥammad Mīr in his efforts to foment trouble in Kashmir. Now that Bābā Khalīl was dead, Muḥammad Mīr was likely to create disturbances. It would, therefore, be in the fitness of things and in the interests of the state that Muḥammad Mīr was summoned to the imperial court so that the chances of his instigating trouble in the country were eliminated.

In this way Mḥammad Mīr was summoned to the imperial court. Some time later, he worked in league with Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān to incite Ibeh Shāh, Lohar Chak, brother of Shamsi Chak, and Ḥusain Wulu (Dulu ?) to proceed to Kashmir, for the purpose of creating trouble and work towards disruption of law and order and to spread discord among various sections of people in such a way that they would clash with one another. He thought that such a situation would lead the Emperor to recall Yūsuf Khān and enable himself to assume their earlier positions of administering the realm of Kashmir. This group of foolish people acted upon their promptings and left for Kashmir.

Tables turned

They came to the house of 'Alī Raina, the landlord of Bartal. This 'Alī Raina behaved without any sense of gratitude; acted without generosity, and considerateness; ignored the obligations of kinship and loyalty, and took recourse to wickedness. He handed them over to the agents of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān. They begged for their release saying that they had come in these lands under the instructions of Mirzā Yūsuf Khān, but their entreaties were of no avail. On the contrary, their explanation recoiled on them, because the agents took these words to be an attempt at defaming Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān. Thereupon, without the slightest hesitation and without wasting time, [they ordered that] their heads be severed from their bodies :

[*verses*]

On his way to Lahore, 'Alī Raina, as a consequence of this wicked deed, was afflicted with some malignant disease and died an ignoble death so much so that no one undertook to give him a burial :

Muḥammad Mīr's intrigue

Thus Muḥammad Mīr's expectations about the outcome of his intrigue were frustrated. As a result of this, he resumed his activities of creating disruption in Kashmir. He sent Yūsuf Khān Kashmiri to those lands to serve the aforesaid purpose so that the Emperor would be constrained to send them back to govern Kashmir. This was the plan they drew up secretly. Accordingly, Yūsuf Khān set out from the capital city of Lahore towards Kashmir, but the powerful stars of the Emperor forced him to retrace his steps.[66] This news was conveyed to the Emperor but, as he was disposed kindly towards his subjects, he overlooked his crime and did not punish him. Ya'qūb Shāh was also implicated in this matter. But, because His Majesty had entered into some agreement with him and made some commitments, Ya'qūb Shāh continued to be at the imperial court.[67] However, escorted by Ḥasain Beg Turkmān, he was brought to the presence of Rājā Mān Singh to join his father Yūsuf Shāh.

Ḥasain Beg's narrow escape

In this way, instigated by some base and unwise people and with the consent of his brother, Ya'qūb Shāh, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm took advantage of the opportunity and dealt a blow with his sword on the head of Ḥasan Beg Turkmān. Ḥasan Beg was a man of genial disposition and fair in his intentions. With God's protection, not even a hair of his head was touched : his alert soldiers sprang at Mīrzā Ibrāhīm and slew him on the spot :

[*verses*]

This incident made Ya'qūb Shāh immensely dejected. He was overwhelmed by despondency and repented sorely

over what had came to pass. Ḥasan Beg took notice of his condition and was moved to compassion. Securing him from any reprisals or hostile action against him on the way. Ḥasan Beg brought him safely to Jonāpūr. But before releasing him from detention, he obtained a surety from Yūsuf Shāh [of his safe conduct]. Later on he was sent to enter the services of Rājā Mān Singh at Rohtās.

Yūsuf Shāh's character

While these things were happening, let us have a look at Yūsuf Shāh. He was gifted with qualities of generosity and charitableness to such an extent that whatever in the shape of cash, kind, gold, robes, ornaments, etc. caught his eye, he gifted it away lavishly and unhesitatingly. Those who were not aware of his innate generosity, attributed it to his mental derangement. After the conquest of Orissa on Tuesday, the sixth of the month of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, he took ill shortly after sunrise and, on Wednesday, on the fourteenth day of the same month in the year A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591), when about three quarters of night had passed, he surrendered his soul to God :

[*verses*]

The dead body of Yūsuf Shāh was removed by Mīrān Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī from Jagarnāth—a town abounding in icons and idols—with such elaborate ceremonies as would befit magnificent kings and masters of equipage and large retinues. The entire journey was covered in two months and, on each day, alms and charities, food and *sherbet* were given to the poor and the destitute. On Sunday, the 23rd of the month of Rabī'u'l-Awwal, in the late afternoon his mortal remains were buried in the *pargana* of Bisnak[68] in Bihār. A spacious garden was laid out adjoining his grave and a deep well lined with baked bricks was also dug near it. The date of his death has been found in the chronogram *Yūsuf Shāh mord faryād.*

Ya'qūb poisoned

When Yūsuf Shāh left this transient world for the everlasting abode, Rājā Mān Singh bestowed great attention

upon his son, Ya'qūb Shāh. He conferred upon him the *jāgīr* and the rank of his late father. This arrangement continued for more than a year, After that His Imperial Majesty summoned Rājā Mān Singh to his august presence. On the eve of his departure to the imperial court—the meeting place of the choicest of men of the day—two persons of criminal disposition who still bore on their foreheads the dark marks of servitude to Yūsuf Shāh, hatched a conspiracy against Ya'qūb Shāh. They made a submission to Rājā Mān Singh that leaving Ya'qūb Shāh in that part of the country with freedom of movement amounted to letting a bird out of the cage or a falcon out of one's clutches. They suggested to him that Ya'qūb Shāh should at least be interned so that he was rendered incapable of returning to his native land and hunt birds there :

[*verses*]

Rājā Mān Singh was alarmed by this possibility and detained Ya'qūb Shāh in the fort of Rohtās. Some time later, Rājā Mān Singh was permitted to leave the imperial court for Rohtās. Meanwhile the afore-mentioned detestable and accursed persons once again conspired to put an end to the life of Ya'qūb Shāh. They made Qāsim Khān an accomplice in their crime, who had been known as an illegitimate son of Yūsuf Shāh. As a punishment for his hideous deeds in the past, (Qāsim Khān) had served a year's term of imprisonment under the orders of the Emperor. It was Rājā Mān Singh who had interceded for him at that time and secured the orders of his release from prison. The truth is that he was the offspring of a butcher. As he was depraved and inherently wicked, Qāsīm Khān took the initiative to realize his objective and waited for a suitable opportunity.

On the eve of Rājā Mān Singh's arrival in the fort of Rohtās, the two malicious persons accompanied his troops in those regions. Ya'qūb Shāh sought the permission of the Rājā to proceed on a pleasure trip to his *jāgīr* and the town of Bhera. Out of courtesy he dropped at Qāsim Khān's residence to take his leave. The treacherous villain, taking

advantage of this opportunity, offered him a few betel leaves, one of which concealed deadly poison. Offering of a betel leaf was in accordance with the custom prevailing among the people in those lands. With his sinful hands, Qāsim Khān selected this very poisonous leaf for him and, simulating affection, kinship and special regard, he made him accept it. After accepting the betel leaf, Yaqūb Shāh took leave of his murderer and returned to his lodging. Soon after he could feel the effect of poison spreading in his body. A few days later, on reaching the town of Bhera, the colour of his face changed to deep blue. On the eighth day of Muharram, A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1592), he breathed his last :

[*verses*]

On learning of this tragic event, Rājā Mān Singh despatched Qāsim Khān to those regions with the purpose of informing and consoling the survivors of the bereaved family. Mān Singh was under the impression that Qāsim Khān, being the next of kin, and one of the members of the bereaved family, would be the proper person to be entrusted with this missions. But this ungodly (*Khudā nā-tars*) fellow joined hands with some abominable wretches to hatch more conspiracies. He subjected Ya'qūb Shāh's offspring to harassment and victimization in many ways. Household effects, property, gold and ornaments, all that was left with his legitimate queen was seized and taken possession of by him. There was none at the court of Rājā Mān Singh who gave any attention to their grievances.

The death of a noble father and his illustrious son was a tragedy of great magnitude for their compatriots. Eventually Mīrān Sayyid Shāh 'Abu'l-Ma'ālī, who was their kinsman, besides also having affectionate relationship with the household, brought the dead body of Ya'qūb Shāh to the *pargana* of Bisnak to be buried by the side of his father, Let benign God forgive his sins.

Murderer's fate

Subsequent to these events, and after a lapse of about three or four years, that rascal of a man fell a victim to the

wrath of the Wrathful (God) and two carbuncles, horrible to look at, appeared in his armpit and in his anus. On account of acute pain he could not move about for nearly a year. Though he applied ointment to the ulcers, it seemed as if some invisible power made the medicine ineffective; and, in fact, made the sores more putrid. Out of repentence he spoke before everybody, high and low, all that he had done and made no attempt to conceal his feelings of regret and sorrow. The disease, finally, proved fatal. At present he remains buried at the village of Tanda in the province of Bengal :

[*verses*]

Ya'qūb's death-scene

It has been said that prior to his death by poisoning, Ya'qūb Shāh once suffered amebic dysentery because of his excessive use of narcotics like opium. The Indian physicians took no interest in curing him of this disease. They neither touched his body, nor went anywhere near his bed. But, despite that, Ya'qūb Shāh did not let despondency overpower him. He emphatically declared that his departing hour had not come. "It will be the Friday of Muḥarram, the day of martyrdom of Ḥusain, the son of 'Alī. At that time none of my true and affectionate friends should shed tears or lament my death. They should rejoice just as a friend rejoices on meeting his friend, because there goes the saying that "death is the bridge that links a friend with a friend."

After he was poisoned, Ya'qūb Shāh found that the symptoms of death had begun to appear and with that he lost hope of his recovery, which led his friends and dear ones to utter loud cries of distress and agony. But he slightly blinked and held his tongue between his teeth—obviously in alarm and to express his disapproval of the lamenting and sobbing going on around him : he even spoke loudly against it. Then he closed his eyes once again. Mīrān Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī quickly placed his one hand on his face and the other on his chin and managed to release his tongue

from his closed jaw. He poured a few drops of *sherbet* down his throat. With that "the bird of his soul winged away from the cage of his body and made its lasting nest on the branches of the lote-tree (*sadreh*) in Paradise."

[*verses*]

Kashmiri nobility breaks

Briefly speaking, the sagacious Muḥammad Mīr, who bore Ya'qūb Shāh's unlimited affection was subjected to much harassment by the cunning Ustā Lolo and Firāq Kashmiri. Unable to withstand these shocks, he soon followed Ya'qūb Shāh to the other world.

[*verses*]

Thus the nobles of Kashmir were completely wiped out. The aforesaid Ustā Lolo made a submission to His Majesty that Kashmir could provide large revenue to the imperial treasury. If a revenue officer were appointed by His Majesty to make proper assessment, the possibilities of an increase in revenue could be reported to him. This resulted in the deputation of Ḥasan bin Shaykh 'Umarī and Qāḍī 'Alī, the renowned revenue experts in the cadre of the imperial government, to Kashmir. According to the instructions from the imperial court, they came to Kashmir where they formulated their own system of levy and collection of revenue which were in the interests of the governing machine.[69] They harassed and oppressed the people in many ways. Eventually the people were forced to join Mīrzā Yādgār, the brother of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, and give a tough fight to Ḥasain Beg Shaykh 'Umarī, who was routed and overpowered, and he suddenly found himself cut off from his friends and supporters. Bare-footed and without a headgear, he wended his way through narrow and tortuous paths till he reached in the presence of Rājā Rājpāl. Qāḍī 'Alī was slain in the vicinity of Kamelna [*sic*] fort and Mīrzā Yādgār was installed in the seat of government of that land.

Yādgār killed

The news of these detestable actions reached the Empe-

ror who, followed by his victorious legions, set out to conquer that country. When Mīrzā Yādgār came to know of this, he marched out of the city of Kashmir (Srinagar) and, after ensuring the security of Konehbal route, took up his position in the village Hirpur. But suddenly, under some divine dispensation, as also under the good fortune of the king, Ibrāhīm Khān Ghakkar and Sāro Beg Turkmān, two employees of Yūsuf Khān and presently in Mīrzā Yādgār's combat forces, found an opportunity, during the hours they were keeping watch, to assassinate Mīrzā Yādgār. On account of the resultant chaos, most of his field commanders, like Mīr Muḥammad, Bahādur Malik, son of Idī Raina, and many others ran away in confusion in different directions. The army of that land could no longer remain united and the soldiers were reduced to such a state of demoralisation that, in order to earn their livelihood, they had to approach the *jāgīrdārs* for service.

Mutch Bhavan episode

Muḥibb 'Alī was one of the officials of Yūsuf Khān who had been assigned military duties in the *pargana* of Dachhanpāra and Khovurpāra. He had made solemn promises and commitments to a group of local soldiers who had entered his sevrice; he brought them collectively to Mutch Bhavan[70] spring under the pretext of recording their identity, and then put them all to the sword. In this way the blood of Musalmans was shed like the gushing waters of Mutch Bhavan spring. This is how he (Muḥibb 'Alī) invited perpetual torture in the world hereafter in return for petty gains of the base material world.

Lohar Chak killed

After this event, Qāsim Khān Namgi [*sic*], on the advice of some local people, extended many promises and pledges of renewed friendship to Lohar Chak and his brothers and sons, and making them forget their sins and faults, brought them to his presence from Drāv [*sic*] and then, ignoring his pledges and promises, had the whole group assassinated in the town of Sopor :

[*verses*]

After this event, Ḥusain Chak, son of Shamsi Chak of Kupwāra, in collusion with some people of the borders of Kashmir, killed Jalīl Beg. But later, through the treachery of Mullā Jamīl Beg who gave him a false sense of security, he was lured into entering the service of Yūsuf Khān. Thus, without apprehending danger, Lohar Chak entered his service. He even forgot what Muḥibb 'Alī did (at Mutch Bhavan) and entertained no fears in his mind. At last, Mullā Jamīl found his opportunity, and in the village of Regipora "levelled his enemies to dust." Prior to it, Husi Chak had died in an accident : he fell from his horse in the course of *shikar* and then never rose again.

Chaks vanquished

Shamsi Chak, son of Daulat Chak, died in the province of the Deccan and his grave is at Burhanpore. His sons, Ḥusain Chak and Zafar Khān, became sorely distressed and were almost out of their mind on account of the circumstances in which their kinsmen perished one after the other. And since they had been pining for the bracing climate of Kashmir, they left Hindustan and came to dwell in the highlands of Kamarāj and Marāj where they lived by lifting cattle and plundering the crops of local peasants.

Tibetan involvement

After the death of Emperor (Akbar), the crown passed on to Jehāngīr Pādishāh. Ibeh Khān, son of Ḥusain Khān, son of Ibeh Shāh, Ḥusain Chak, Zafar Khān and several others, in collusion with the governor of Tibet, whom they had persuaded to give them military assistance, raised a banner of rebellion against the imperial forces in the *pargana* of Lār, which continued for two months. By then the governor of Tibet found that they were disunited which made him change his mind. Besides he also found them overtaken by sloth, and he retreated to Tibet.[71]

The group involved in the insurrection continued to be defiant at Sherkot,[72] flirting with the idea of carving out an

independent province for themselves. They became vain and indulged in rapacious activities, such as looting and plundering houses, property, cattle and belongings of the peasants, and aquandered their ill-gotten wealth in orgies of drink and dissipation. This resulted in a famine and dearness in that part of the land to an unimaginable extent. These people became totally indifferent to the presence of the imperial troops in their neighbourhood. Thus unmindful of the realities of the situation, they perpetrated acts of brigandage to their hearts' content.

'Alī Khān's fate

The imperial troops had been biding time. When the opportunity came their way they rushed out of Sopor and attacked them on a dark night while they lay in deep slumber. Many of them were slain and their severed heads were sent to Kashmir [Srinagar] in a boat where they were piled up like a minaret to serve a warning to other insurgents.

Later on 'Alī Khān, son of Ḥusain Khān, sent Ibeh Shāh and Ḥusain Chak towards the borders of Kamarāj on the principle that "two swords cannot be accomodated in one scabbard." Ḥusain Chak thought it expedient to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards 'Alī Khān for he could read the writing on the wall. Proud of his bravery, 'Alī Khān, along with a body of . . . (illeg) called on Ḥusain Chak to bid him farewell. But Ḥusain Chak seized the opportunity and slew the whole group of soldiers accompanying him. 'Alī Khān was taken prisoner and handed over to the imperial troops. But as he was being carried there, the Imāghāts[73] came to know of the incident and put an end to his life in the village of Denwārī. In order to chastise the Imāghāts, Zafar Khān sent a contingent of foot soldiers and horsemen there and made a night-assault on them in the *pargana* of Adwan, leading to fighting and killing between them in the village of Door. A large number of Kashmiri soldiers on the side of Zafar Khān perished and he himself sustained wounds which forced him to abandon fighting and flee towards the jungle in the *pargana* of Bīrū.

Jehāngīr's governors

This event was followed by the death of Muḥammad Qulī, the Governor of Kashmir, who had endeared himself to the people of that land. He was succeeded by 'Alī Akbar Shāhī[74] whose appointment was made under the orders of Jehāngīr Pādishāh. In the beginning, he took recourse to flattery, deception, and cunning and, through the instrumentality of Qāḍī Ṣāleh, extended many promises and pledges to Zafar Khān, but with no sincere intentions. He told him that Muḥammad Quli and his former officials had committed acts of maltreatment and rascality on the basis of religion. "But since I am a staunch Sunni and you too are one, God forbid that even the slightest act of ill-will prejudicial to your interests should occur from my side," he said. In confirmation of this statement he swore by the name of venerable Four Friends[75] as well as the Companions of the Prophet of Islam.

Thus, through deception and perfidy, he brought that group of people to his presence, and got them arrested with the connivance of Mullā Jamīl Beg. This was followed by a policy of mass punishment in the city. All those people who came across their way—soldiers, landowners, artisans, weavers, and others—from dawn to noon were butchered. Ten days later, Zafar Khān and seventeen young nobles were released from prison and handed over to Ḥātem Khān the landlord, who, in turn, despatched them to the other world. At the time of his death, Zafar Khān repeated the content of the verses :

[*verses*]

Ḥabīb Khān, son of Ḥusain Khān, was killed by Ḥusain Nāyak. Yūsuf Chak was placed in the custody of Ya'qūb Shāh only to perish after suffering a number of privations and tortures. Alī Khān, son of Yusuf Khan, got Nowroz Chak killed by the son of Hātem Khān.

Chaks liquidated

In short, all those seven budding youngesters who had

yet to taste the fruits of life in the garden of this treacherous world, were totally uprooted by its pestilential gusts. They [the kinsfolk of Chaks] were humiliated and deprived of their name and identity, and forced to live a vagrant life in the streets and lanes of the locality of Raināwarī. No one was even permitted to bury them [when dead]. However, the inhabitants of the locality, in order to avoid the stench of their putrid corpses, removed them to a potter's kiln in the neighbourhood, and concealed them under mud and dust. The spheres mourned the tragic end of those people by shedding tears in the shape of torrential rain and by giving out loud laments of lashing thunderbolts, so-much-so that it appeared like the clarion sound of Isrāfīl calling the dead to rise :

Sher Afghan[76]

Ibeh Khān, son of Abdāl Khān, was one of the warriors of that land. On the eve of Jehāngīr Pādishāh's accession to the throne, he proceeded to his *jāgīr* at Burdwan under orders of the Emperor. A brave man, Sher Afghan by name, was a former *jāgīrdār* now living in comfort at that place. Quṭbu'd-Dīn Khān, the Governor of the province of Bengal, had, as a sequel to his disagreement with and jealously towards that gallant man, reported to the Emperor that all the people in Bengal except Sher Afghan have submitted to the authority of His Majesty. Whatever orders there were from His Majesty about him [Sher Afghan] would be carried out by him unhesitatingly. Forthwith orders were issued by the Emperor that Sher Afghan's head be severed from his body and sent to the imperial court. On receiving these orders, Quṭūbu'd-Dīn proceeded to confront that brave man along with a contingent of two thousand soldiers. In spite of suspecting danger to his life, he [Sher Afghan] came out of his fort along with seventy or eighty horsemen to receive the governor formally. He had hardly come close to them when he understood the suspicious movement of Quṭūbu'd-Dīn's troops and was convinced that their only intention was to kill him. Meanwhile the mahaut of Quṭbu'd-Dīn manoeuvred his exasperated ele-

phant in such a manner that Sher Afghan's horse took fright and got out of control. Consequently, Sher Afghan was forced to be on guard. He addressed Quṭbu'd-Dīn in these words : "You commander of the Khāns, what do you mean by this move ?" The aforesaid evaded a direct reply. Thereupon Sher Afghan's companions spoke to him reproachfully in the Turkish language : "If there is anything of manliness and bravery left in you, what other occasion would you seek to put these to test?" On hearing these words, the brave man mustered heroic strength and made an assault on Sher Afghan. But with the first stroke of his sword, Sher Afghan chopped off his arm from his shoulder. The next stroke pierced his belly letting his entrails drop down in a lump. Thus ended the life of Quṭbu'd-Dīn.

The next man who advanced to cross swords with him was Ḥaidar Malik Chādūra. He too sustained a wound in that battle and looked round to run for his life. Ibeh Khān, son of Abdāl Khān, saw what was happening ; he summoned his manliness and spurred his horse towards the pit. The two warriors came close to one another. On account of the presence of elephants on the battlefield, the horses of both the warriors found it rather difficult to stick to their positions. They were compelled to dismount and began fighting each other. Ibeh Khān, son of Abdāl, took the lead and inflicted a blow on Sher Afghan's face, cutting open half of his skull. But that valiant warrior, mustering whatever life and strength was left in him, made a counter-attack in which he embedded his sword like a spike in the belly of Ibeh Khan resulting in his instantaneous death. But Sher Afghan too died at the same time. The grave of Ibeh Khān is to be found beside the tomb of Bahram Saqqa in the village of Burdwān.

Yūsuf Khān's fate

Five to six months later, Yūsuf Khān, son of Ḥusain Shāh, once mounted a she-elephant and proceeded on a stag hunt in Salīm Ābād area. But as God willed it, all of a sudden a wild and detestable buffalo appeared almost from nowhere on that hunting ground and made a violent charge

on the elephant which, while fleeing, hurtled down its rider in the dense forest. He became a game for the brute and was killed.

In short, the nobles of this land could not be rescued either by friends or by luck from the whirlpool of death in India, and the sun of their career went down westward, far away in the horizon of oblivion :

[*verses*]

A few incidents pertaining to the commanders of that land, such as Ḥusain Khān, son of Yūsuf Shāh, and others have not been recorded for being unwieldy for this brief account.

Aspersions on Governors

In short, such odious deeds resulted from Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar Shāhī's ill-advised statesmanship in this land that a group of supplicants, seeking redress of their grievances, were forced to recount these to the courtiers of Jehāngīr. The Emperor became displeased and objected [to his misdeeds]. Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar Shāhī was dismissed as Governor of that land and the office passed on to Nawwāb Qalīj Khān. The administration of the State of Kashmir was entrusted to Ḥaidar Malik Chādūra and he was given freedom to run its affairs as he desired fit, so that people in Kashmir were meted out justice and equity under imperial rule. They were thus liberated from the onslaughts of their oppressors.

Ḥaidar Malik eulogised

Ḥaidar Malik took special care for the development and progress of these lands. He turned his attention to the economy of the country in a way that eatables like food-grains, pulses, etc., were made available to the rich and the poor in plenty. The title of *Chaghatāī* was conferred on him. He undertook the onerous task of ensuring public welfrae and providing efficient administration to common people as well as the nobles of the land :

[*verses*]

In the course of these events, Rājā Mān singh died on the seventh of Jumāda al-Ukhrā in the year [*sic*]. The chronogram commenmorating the event of his death runs as this—

Abu'l-Ma'ālī's assignment

Mīrān Sayyid Abu'l-Ma'ālī was in the service of Rājā Mān Singh for twenty-four years during the reign of Akbar. During this period he exhibited extraordinary feats of bravery, which is an inherent trait in the noble clan of Hashimites. He took active part in numerous battles fought against the enemies of His Imperial Majesty, from which he always emerged victorious with the grace of God. He lived his days in comport and pleasure enjoying trust and respect [of the Emperor] to a remarkable extent. After the death of Akbar, he, along with Ḥaidar Malik, came to present himself before Emperor Jehāngīr.

Through his perceptive genius, Jehāngīr Pādishāh found in Mīrān Sayyid Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī merit and ability, bravery and dauntlessness and, therefore, extended to him special royal favours by conferring a high rank on him. He was allowed a *jāgīr* along with Sayyid Ībrāhīm Khān in the *sirkār* of Sindh and was permitted to proceed thither.[77]

Mīrān Sayyid, himself a man of parts, conducted himself towards the learned men of Thatta in such a commendable way that they loved him more than their own selves. They considered his arrival in that land as nothing short of a providential boon and a blessing. The date of his arrival in the *sirkār* of Thatta has been found in the chronogram *abr-i raḥmat āmad nāgehān.*

[*verses*]

The chronogram recording the date of completion of this chronicle is *Nāmeh-e Shāhān-i Kashmir.*

NOTES

1. Ḥasan writes that people of all ranks and positions in the city of Srinagar came out to receive Yūsuf Shāh at Barthana. Mulla Muḥammad Amin Mustaghni found this apt verse of Hāfiz by way of an augury :

> *Yūsuf-e gumgashteh bāz āyad ba kan ān gham makhor*
> *kulbeh-e ehzān shavad rūzī gulistān gham ma khor*

Speaking about the second tenure of Yūsuf Shāh's regime, Ḥasan writes that he strove very hard to eradicate corrupt practices [in matters of religion] (*bid'at*) which had taken root in earlier days. He paid visits to the graves of the saints and derived benefit from the company of the elderly Shaykhs. Once he visited Baba Hardi Reshi barefooted. *THK*. p. 315. Commenting on the same subject, Malik Ḥaidar writes that unjust taxes imposed on some sections of people, were abolished by him. Corvee (*begār*) exacted from people by forcing them to proceed on journey without receiving remuneration was also abolished. Taxes on fruit-bearing trees and on craftsmen were also abolished. See *TMH*. MS. f. 72[b].

2. This theme has been borrowed from Jāmī's *Lawāyeh*.

3. *aṭiu'llah wa aṭiu'rrasūl wa ulu'l amr minkum.*

4. Husi Chak was captured in the *pargana* of Bengil, and Muḥammad Khān in Baramulla by a *thānedār*. *TMH*. MS. f. 71[b].

5. *dil-e pur dard-i man jānā basān-e ghuncheh pur khūn ast*
chih berahmī na pursīdī kih aḥwāl-e dilat chūn ast

6. *ba avsh kūsh kih tā chesh mizanī barham*
khazānat mī rasad-o nawbahār mī guzarad

7. *man dar andesheh kih chūn sāveh kunam bar sar-i ū*
ū dar ān gham kih chisān mikanad az bonyādam

8. To Panjab in *THK*. p. 315.

9. After Yūsuf Shāh's victory at Sopor, Ḥaidar Chak escaped to Tibet. Later he appeared in Kishtwar and often

fought against the local *thānedārs*. After four years of wandering, he went to the Indian plains and appealed to Rājā Ram Singh of Lahore for assistance. The Rājā showed him respect and consideration and granted him a *jāgīr* in Nowshehra. See *TMḤ*. MS. f. 72[a].

10. Present Vutrus. See *Rajat*. vii. 1254 ; Vol. II, p. 467.

11. Rājā Mān Singh was displeased with Yūsuf Shāh for leaving his court without seeking formal permission from him. See TḤK. p. 318.

12. The chronicler does not tell us anything about the secret understanding that was between Yūsuf Shāh and Mān Singh; there is a definite hint to the effect that there must have been some agreement between the two which Yūsuf Shāh appears to have violated. This points to a guess that perhaps the chronicler is deliberately withholding some information. By and large, he adopts the method of telling us about such secret deals and compacts, but never spells the terms of agreement.

13. kih gar kār bandi pashīmān shavī
kih gar kār bandi pashīmān shavī

14. Ḥasan says that the administration of Nowshehra and Bhimber was entrusted to him. See *TḤK*. p. 318.

15. Khwāja Qāsim continued flattering Yūsuf Shāh. At one stage the latter got annoyed with him for flattering him and reprimanded him a number of times. See *TMḤ*. p. 318.

16. Malik Ḥaidar writes that the names of Akbar's emissaries to Yūsuf Shāh were Mīrzā Ṭāhir and Ṣāleh'Āqil. The contents of the letter they brought him from the Emperor were : "If you are relieved of the anxiety caused by the enemy, and if the domain has been occupied, you should present yourself at the imperial court." See *TMḤ*. MS. f. 72[b]. But Ḥasan gives the extract from the letter as follows: Royal patronage and attention were given to you because the signs of sincerity and truthfulness were imprinted on your face. Since the time of your departure to Kashmir, no report about the affairs of the State has been sent to the concerned

at the imperial court. Now that it appears that the insurgents have been subdued, it is desired that the report in question containing the facts be sent without any delay." See *TḤK*. p. 319.

17. Fatehpore in *TḤK*. p. 319.

18. Malik Ḥaidar says that Ḥaidar Khān, the third son of Yūsuf Shāh and not Ya'qūb Khān, the eldest son, was sent to Akbar's court. The cowardly decision caused anguish to Kashmiri nobles and commanders who were reminded of the contents of the letter salvaged from the debris of Parihasapora after it was burnt by Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn'Irāqī. It said that after a lapse of one thousand and five hundred years, a man from 'Irāq would destroy that idol-house .... During the reign of the Chaks, Kashmir would pass into the hands of the Chaghatāī rulers. See *TMḤ*. MS. ff. 73-74.

19. The ancient name of Afghanistan.

20. Whether Ya'qub got the permission to leave Bahlool Pora is not clear, because subsequent details reveal that he had fled without seeking formal permission. See note 23 infra.

21. Yūsuf Shāh was exceedingly annoyed with the unbecoming behaviour of Ya'qūb, and, in fact, wanted to get him arrested, but the nobles interceded for him. See *TḤK*. pp. 319-20.

22. Mīrzā Ṭāhir in *TMḤ*. MS. f. 72b.

23. Here is a contradiction. Elsewhere the author says that Ya'qūb left the imperial court after seeking due permission. Regarding Ya'qūb's flight from the imperial court, see also *Akbar-Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 469.

24. There appears to be some confusion about which one of the three sons of Yūsuf Shāh was sent to Akbar's court. Malik Ḥaidar differs from the chronicler by saying that the first delegation was headed by Mīrzā Ḥaidar Khān, the eldest son of Yūsuf Shāh. See *TMḤ*. MS. f. 73b.

25. Yūsuf Shāh received Ḥakīm 'Alī, the emissary of

Akbar, with courtesy and was, in fact, inclined to present himself before the Emperor at Lahore. But he was dissuaded from doing so by his nobles. See *TḤK*. p. 320. Elaborating on this, Malik Ḥaidar says that the nobles argued that even after a lapse of few centuries the effect of Zulchu's incursion had not gone off completely. The Mughals could pose a greater threat to them. They added that by succumbing to the incursionists, they would risk the stigma of cowardice. For more details, see *TMḤ*. MS. f. 74b.

26. For *Drang* see *Rājat*. vii, 140n ; Vol. II, p. 399. Ḥasan thinks that it was Kishanganga river which the Mughal troops had crossed. See *TḤK*. p. 322.

27. Ḥasan says that Yūsuf Shāh despatched Abu'l Ma'ālī and Ḥusain Chak via Khohvur route, and Shams Chak, Ya'qūb Khān, Lohar Qūrchī, Bābā Ṭālib Isfahānī, Ḥasan Bhat, Ḥasan Malik Chādūra and the feudal lords of Khakha and Buma clans together with a large force under their command to take up their position at Bulyasa. See *TḤK*. p. 322.

28. The disaster which befell the Mughal army is subtly alluded to in the letter sent by Rājā Bhagwān Dās to Yūsuf Shāh through Shāpur Khān. The extract reproduced from *Akbar Nāma* says : However, even if the imperial troops have met with disaster as a result of the wrath of God Almighty, the great monarch will send back a hundred thousand troops and this land will be trampled under the feet of elephants. You ought to realise the consequences which your attitude will lead to. See *TḤK*. p. 324.

29. Ḥasan says that the Rājā had laid down in the agreement that in case Yūsuf Shāh agreed to proceed to the imperial court along with him, he would be shown special favours and a robe of honour would be presented to him. He would also be assured of the governance of his kingdom and nothing would be reduced from his power and authority. These would remain the same as in the past. See *TḤK*. p. 324. However, Malik Ḥaidar makes no mention of any commitment made by the Rājā.

30. Malik Ḥaidar states that Isfahani was not a Kashmiri. *TMḤ*. MS. f. 77a.

31. The plunderers were Khakhas (Khasas of *Rājat*.). See *TḤK*. p. 325.

32. Ḥasan says that the Mughals initiated this move on the behest of Yūsuf Shāh. See *TḤK*. p. 325.

33. Ḥasan writes that Raja Bhagwan Das also arranged the marriage of Ya'qub Shāh with the daughter of Mubārak Khān Khakhar (Ghakkar). See *TḤK*. p. 325.

34. Malik Ḥaidar says that on reaching Pakhli, Yūsuf Shāh was put in chains till the Rājā brought him to the presence of His Majesty. See *TMḤ*. MS. f. 77[b].

35. From Attock, Yūsuf Shāh was sent to Lahore under the escort of Rām Dās Kachhwaha and then he remained a prisoner of Rājā Todar Mal for two years. Malik Ḥaidar also states that afterwards when Rājā Mān Singh returned from Kabul, he interceded for him and succeeded in seeking his release from prison. See *TḤK*. p. 326, and *TMḤ* MS. f. 77[b].

36. Present Achhabal in district Anantnāg.

37. Naji Raina was the Zamindar of Bartal (Barthal). See *TḤK*. p. 420.

38. Qāḍī Mūsā descended from Qāḍī Mīr 'Alī. His house was of the dispensers of justice in Kashmir since the days of Qāḍī Ibrāhīm.

39. Quoting Malik Ḥaidar (*TMḤ*. MS f. 81[a]), and Muhammad 'Azam (*Wāqaāt-e-Kashmir* pp. 99-100), Ḥasan writes that the root cause of the tragedy was one Mulla 'Aini who had pursuaded Ya'qub Shāh to get the sentence *Alī waliu'llah* incorporated in the Muslim call for prayer. But Qāḍī Mūsā, the upholder of Sunni tradition did not oblige him. He was, therefore, accused of collaborating with Shams Chak. He was martyred in the court and his dead body was tied to the tail of an elephant and dragged along the streets. As it reached near the door of his house, his mother covered it with a veil and thanked God for making him a martyr. At the end of the day there appeared a dreadful storm which brought hail and torrential rain of such an intensity that

many pregnant women aborted and many children were killed by thunder. A thunderbolt which fell on the house of Ya'qūb Khān paralysed the wife of Alī Dār and four women in the household. See *TḤK*. p. 331.

40. Nobles such as Shams Chak, Malik Muḥammad Ḥasan Chādūra, and 'Alīsher Māgray deserted Ya'qūb Shāh and proceeded towards the Indian mountains. However, they were dissuaded by Malik Muḥammad Ḥasan from goin onwards and turned back to Kashmir where, after seven days of sporadic fighting, Bābā Khalīl and Shaykh Ḥasan intervened to stop the fighting between the two groups. It was decided that the area beyond Sopor to the right bank of river Jhelum would be ceded to the nobles. However, the parties did not stick to the agreement, and Ya'qūb marched at the head of a formidable force towards Sopor. His opponents did not feel that they were strong enough to resist him. See *TMḤ*. MS. f. 79b.

41. Among these were Ḥaidar Chak and Shaykh Ya'qūb. See TMḤ. MS. f. 79b. But Ḥasan gives the names Shaykh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī and Bābā Dā'ūd Khākī. See *THK*. p. 332.

42. Yūsuf Khān Baihaqī in *TḤK*. p. 332.

43. Ḥasan's revealing statement is that Baihaqī had to employ cunning and guile to get these things. See *TḤK*. p. 333.

44. Present Kitshom, the site of ancient Kṛtyāśrama Vihāra, See *Rājat*. i, 147n.

45. Ḥasan writes that Ya'qūb Shāh's action to release Shamsi Chak and Muḥammad Bhat encouraged the masses to set on fire the *khānqāh* at Zadibal, desecrate the grave of Shams 'Irāqī and plunder the houses of the Shias. The destruction of the Shias continued for three days. See *TḤK*. p. 334.

46. *majma'-e sīrat wa Sulūk*.

47. 'Those areas' refer to Kashmir. It appears that this portion of the chronicle was written by the author when he was outside Kashmir.

48. On Pīr Pāntsāl route. See *Rājat*. i, 302n.

49. Keterbal/Kenzbal in *TMḤ*. MS. ff. 80[a]-81[a] and Kunehbal in *THK*. p. 334.

50. In *pargana* Ular. See *TḤK*. p. 419.

51. Gīr in Ḥasan. The name of its *Zamīndār* was Yūsuf Shee. See *TḤK*. p. 419.

52. The mountain ranges of Naji Raina : this is not clear. Perhaps the name Nāyak ranges also applies to the same mountain.

53. For more details see *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, Vol. III, p. 258.

54. This happened in A.D. 1586. *TḤK*. p. 420n.

55. Gāsū in Ḥasan. *TḤK*. p. 420.

56. For details see *TḤK*. pp. 420-21.

57. For details about Qāsim Khān's defeat by the Kashmiries, see *TMḤ*. MS. f. 83[b] and *TḤK*. pp. 422-23.

58. *ṣalāh-i mā hameh ānast kān turāst ṣalāh*.

59. Ḥasan says that Ibeh Khān established contact with Prince Salīm. He severed relations with Ya'qūb Khān, and on the instance of Yūsuf Khān proceeded to Dehlī, where he became a courtier of Prince Salīm. *TḤK*. p. 429.

60. Invariably the chronicler piles up details without providing linkages of any kind. In this case, it seems the possible link between the two sentences is that Yūsuf Khān desired to continue staying on in Kashmir and, therefore, created conditions in which he could make himself look indispensable. That is why under various pretexts he started the policy of liquidating Kashmiri commanders.

61. In fact, Yūsuf Khān had proceeded to the imperial court leaving behind his brother Bāqir Khān in charge of Kashmir. His courtier, Ustā Lolo Najjār made Bāqir Khān apprehend an uprising and insurgency by the Kashmiri nobles. *TḤK*. p. 430.

62. It took place in A.D. 1587. For details regarding the route adopted by the royal entourage, repairs of bridges and hewing of boulders etc., see *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 537 *et seq*. Akbar's arrival in Kashmir was an unprecedented pageant for Kashmiris who brought numerous presents to His Majesty.

63. Yūsuf Khān Rizvī contrived to secure the orders of His Majesty to return to Kashmir.

64. This is quite an apparent error of logic.

65. *makun tā tawānī ba nājins mel*
chu mastī kih af'ī nihad dar baghal.

66. Also see *TḤK*. p. 436.

66. This sentence is rather evasive because as it is the stars of the Emperor could have no effect on him. The chronicler seems to suppress some vital information.

67. It has not been able to find out the terms of agreement between Akbar and Ya'qūb Shāh.

68. Present-day Biswak in Bihar.

69. Ḥasan writes that two revenue officers registered free lands as state-owned and decided to make cash payment of allowances to soldiers on account of fodder for their horses. This caused dissatisfaction to those who were in the habit of misappropriating state lands because they could not continue their corrupt practices. See *TḤK*. p. 436.

70. Ancient Matsya-Bhavan. See *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 1084n.

71. For details, see Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. III, pp. 823-24.

72. Now Bābā Shukūru'd-Dīn hill-top between Khuihāma and Sopor. In ancient times, Rājā Prāhlād had built the Prateśwara temple here. It was called Bosangari. See *TḤK*. p. 226.

73. Imaghan in *pargana* Aedwan. This *pargana* was rehabilitated by Rājā Swarna (1245 *Loukika*) in which he

ordered the digging of a canal called Sonehman. See *THK*. p. 72 and 447.

74. For details see *THK*. p. 450n, and *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, Vol. III, pp. 355-57.

75. Four chosen companions of Prophet Muḥammad, viz. Abū Bakar, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī.

76. For more details about the story of Sher Afghan's killing see *Tuzak-i-Jehāngīrī*, p. 55, *TMḤ*. MS. f. 95 and *THK*. pp. 462 *et seq*.

77. After the death of Rājā Mān Singh, Mīrān Sayyid came to Kashmir and was approached by many members of Chak clan. But 'Etiqād Khān, the Mughal governor, sent him to His Majesty who ordered him to go to Sindh where he was provided a jāgīr of twenty-five thousand rupees. *THK*. p. 481. This seems to be another example of Mughal diplomacy.

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